

BIBLE TRANSLATION AND RELEVANCE THEORY
THE TRANSLATION OF TITUS

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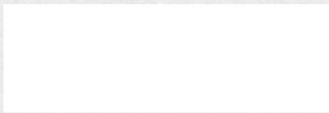


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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree.



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ABSTRACT

Bible Translation and Relevance Theory

The Translation of Titus

Relevance theory has seriously challenged the theoretical soundness of formal and functional equivalence as Bible translation methods. In *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context*, Gutt (1991) argued that relevance theory provides translators with the best available framework for understanding and practicing translation. In his effort to provide a comprehensive account of translation, he proposed two new approaches to translation: direct translation and indirect translation. He did not, however, develop direct and indirect translation into well-defined approaches to translation.

This study explores the viability of direct and indirect translation as approaches to Bible translation. First, by applying insights drawn from relevance theory, it spells out the theoretical and practical implications of these approaches in an attempt to develop them into well-defined translation methods. The explication of the two new approaches shows how and why relevance theoretic approaches to translation differ from formal and functional equivalence. In addition to describing the general approach of direct and indirect translation, it also demonstrates how each approach handles specific translation issues such as figurative language, implicit information, ambiguity, and gender-biased language.

Then, by using them to translate the epistle to Titus, the study tests the practical effectiveness of each new approach. This lengthy application yields many examples of how relevance theory provides translators with valuable guidance for making difficult translation decisions. It emphasises the need for translators to take measures to bridge the contextual gap between the source context and the receptor context, illustrating how this can be done by providing footnotes in a direct translation or by explicating implicit information in an indirect translation.

The study closes with a brief assessment of the two new approaches and some suggestions for further research. The conclusions show both the value and the limitations of the results of this study.

OPSOMMING

Bybelvertaling en Relevansieteorie

Die Vertaling van Titus

Relevansieteorie bevraagteken ernstig die teoretiese basis van formele en funksionele ekwivalensie as metodes van Bybelvertaling. Gutt (1991) het in *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context* geargumenteer dat relevansieteorie vertalers voorsien van die beste beskikbare raamwerk vir die verstaan en beoefening van vertaling. In sy poging om 'n omvattende beskrywing van vertaling daar te stel, het hy twee nuwe benaderings voorgestel: direkte vertaling en indirekte vertaling. Hy het egter nie direkte en indirekte vertaling ontwikkel tot goed gedefinieerde benaderings tot vertaling nie.

Hierdie studie ondersoek die lewensvatbaarheid van direkte en indirekte vertaling as benaderings tot Bybelvertaling. Eerstens word aan die hand van insigte ontleen aan relevansieteorie die teoretiese en praktiese implikasies van hierdie benaderings verken met die doel om dit te ontwikkel tot goed gedefinieerde metodes van vertaling. Die uiteensetting van hierdie twee nuwe benaderings toon hoe en waarom relevansieteoretiese benaderings tot vertaling verskil van formele en funksionele ekwivalensie. Benewens 'n beskrywing van die algemene benadering van direkte en indirekte vertaling, demonstreer die uiteensetting hoe elke benadering spesifieke aangeleenthede soos beeldspraak, implisiete inligting, dubbelsinnigheid en gender-bevooroordeelde taal, in vertaalpraktyk hanteer.

Vervolgens stel die ondersoek die praktiese effektiwiteit van elke nuwe benadering op die proef deur dit te gebruik om die brief aan Titus te vertaal. Hierdie omvangryke toepassing lewer verskeie voorbeelde waar relevansieteorie vertalers van waardevolle riglyne voorsien om moeilike besluite oor vertaling te maak. Dit benadruk die noodsaaklikheid vir vertalers om spesiale maatreëls te tref om die kontekstuele gaping te oorbrug tussen die brontekste en die reseptorkonteks, en word geïllustreer deur in 'n direkte vertaling voetnotas te gebruik en deur in 'n indirekte vertaling implisiete inligting eksplisiet te maak.

Die ondersoek word afgesluit met 'n kort evaluering van die twee benaderings en met enkele voorstelle vir verdere navorsing. Die gevolgtrekking toon beide die waarde en die beperkings van die resultate van hierdie ondersoek.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BAGD	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
ASV	<i>American Standard Version</i>
CEV	<i>Contemporary English Version</i>
GNB	<i>Good News Bible (Today's English Version)</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>
LB	<i>Living Bible</i>
LN	J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains</i>
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English lexicon</i> , 9th ed.
LXX	<i>Septuagint</i>
Message	E. H. Peterson, <i>The Message</i>
MT	<i>Majority Text</i>
NA27	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , 27th ed.
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>
NET	<i>New English Translation</i>
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>
NIT	<i>New Inclusive Translation</i>
NKJV	<i>New King James Version</i>
NLT	<i>New Living Translation</i>
NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i>
NT	<i>New Testament</i>
OT	<i>Old Testament</i>
Phillips	J. B. Phillips, <i>The New Testament in Modern English</i>
REB	<i>Revised English Bible</i>
RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
RV	<i>Revised Version</i>
TR	<i>Textus Receptus</i>
UBS4	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> , 4th rev. ed.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction to the Topic

Much literature on Bible translation bemoans the fact that there is no completely adequate theory of translation. As Gutt (1991:1) explains, "Discontent seems to focus in particular on the lack of a comprehensive approach to translation that is both systematic and theoretically sound." In spite of all that has been written on the matter, no completely satisfactory approach has yet been found.

Until recently there have been two competing theories of Bible translation: formal equivalence and functional equivalence (Formal equivalence,) which underlies most of the so-called literal English Bible translations, strives to attain word-for-word correspondence between the source text and the translated text. In other words, it seeks wherever possible to transfer the grammatical structure of the source text directly into the receptor language. Due to the work of scholars like Nida (1964), Nida and Taber (1969), and Beekman and Callow (1974), (functional equivalence) has superseded formal equivalence as the dominant approach to Bible translation over the past 35 years. Rather than word-for-word correspondence, it strives to identify the meaning of the original and transfer that meaning into a natural translation that is easy to understand.

Recent developments in the field of translation theory have challenged the adequacy of functional equivalence (on the grounds) that it is built upon an inadequate theory of human communication—the code model. Sperber and Wilson (1986) seriously undermined belief in the code model as an adequate theory of communication. In its place they proposed an inferential model of communication—relevance theory.

Gutt (1991) quickly realised that relevance theory may be the long-awaited key to providing a comprehensive account of translation. He explored how the theoretical framework provided by relevance theory might facilitate the formulation of a unified account of translation. He argued that translation is best understood as a special form of reported speech. Based on the fact that there are two kind of reported speech (direct and indirect quotation), he proposed two approaches to translation—direct translation and indirect translation.

2. Main Problem

Gutt (1991) did not set out to expound how relevance theoretic approaches to translation would work in practice. His aim was purely theoretical—to use the theoretical framework provided by relevance theory to give a comprehensive account of how the phenomenon of translation works. In the process, he did propose two approaches to translation, but fully developing the practical implications of each approach was beyond the scope of his main objective.

Although several others have built upon Gutt's (1991) work, no one has yet attempted to fully expound the implications of direct and indirect translation or to produce an English translation of a protracted portion of Scripture using these approaches. A few small studies have been conducted. Deist (1992) demonstrated the application of relevance theoretic insights to individual verses. Winckler and Van der Merwe (1993) discussed some of the particulars of each approach, but not in any great detail. Van der Merwe (1999) briefly discussed what a direct translation should look like. These studies leave a number of questions unanswered. To answer them, we must explore the implications of direct and indirect translation in more depth and use the insights gained to translate a protracted portion of Scripture.

This study investigates the value and applicability of relevance theoretic approaches to Bible translation, with special reference to the translation of NT epistles. Building upon the foundation laid by Gutt (1991), it explores the theoretical implications of direct and indirect translation in an effort to explicate the logical implications of Gutt's work. Then it tests their practical value by using them to translate a protracted portion of Scripture. ★

3. Subordinate Problems

The main problem divides logically into two major tasks, one theoretical and the other practical.

3.1. The Theoretical Task

Since the application of relevance theory to Bible translation is still in its fledgling state, much remains to be done in terms of explaining exactly what is entailed in producing direct and/or indirect translations. The theoretical implications of each of these approaches have yet to be fully examined. Gutt (1991) laid the foundation for such an examination, but nobody has yet expounded on those implications in any depth. This theoretical task can be further subdivided into a number of specific problems.

(a) How do the relevance theoretic approaches compare with formal and functional equivalence? In what respects are they similar? In what respects are they different?

(b) What are the general implications of each of the relevance theoretic approaches? In what way do they interpretively resemble the source? What contextual assumptions must be used to process them? What kind of readers do they presuppose? To what extent does the translator take responsibility for interpreting the original?

(c) What are the specific implications of each of the relevance theoretic approaches? How would they handle specific translation problems? Would they explicate figurative language? Would they remove ambiguities? Would they employ inclusive language?

3.2. The Practical Task

Once the theoretical implications of direct and indirect translation have been examined, their practical viability has to be tested. The only way to test their effectiveness is to use them to translate a protracted portion of Scripture in order to see whether or not they represent an improvement over other approaches.

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the implications that insights drawn from relevance theory have for the way the Bible is translated. This purpose has two aspects. First of all, it aims to develop direct and indirect translation into well-defined translation methods. This requires expounding the implications that relevance theoretic insights have for Bible translation approaches in an attempt to make those implications as explicit as possible. This explication is intended to be illustrative and descriptive rather than exhaustive and prescriptive. Working on the assumption that “a grasp of the cognitive laws at work in ostensive communication” (Gutt, personal communication) can guide translators in making superior decisions, it attempts to illustrate how such an understanding is of value by describing the rationale involved in solving some common translation problems.

The second purpose is to demonstrate how that rationale applies to actual translation problems by producing direct and indirect translations of the epistle to Titus. The chief aim here is to illustrate where, how, and why translation approaches that employ insights drawn from relevance theory differ from those that do not, thereby illustrating the strengths and weaknesses of relevance theoretic approaches for solving translation problems.

The ultimate goal of explicating the implications of relevance theoretic approaches to Bible translation and demonstrating their practical application is to determine whether or not direct and indirect translation are the best approaches to translation currently available.

Assessing the merits of new Bible translation approaches is a large task that will not be accomplished in one study, but this study is an initial step in that process. Hopefully, it will provide a basis for further research.

5. Overview

The body of this dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter two provides a brief historical survey of the two major topics of study under investigation in this study: Bible translation theory and the Pastoral Epistles. This survey places the study of Bible translation in its contemporary setting, particularly as regards the contribution relevance theory can make. It shows which issues have been adequately treated in existing literature and which issues need more detailed analysis. The survey also provides a framework for exegetical work on the Pastoral Epistles by overviewing the three main schools of thought regarding their authorship, purpose, and content.

Chapter three explicates the implications of relevance theoretic approaches to Bible translation. After pointing out the inadequacy of formal and functional equivalence and outlining the main tenets of relevance theory, it defines, explains, and illustrates direct and indirect translation, describing their general approach to translation and showing how they handle specific translation problems.

Chapter four uses the two approaches outlined in chapter three to produce two new translations of Titus. Working through Titus paragraph by paragraph and clause by clause, it tries to determine what assumptions the text would have conveyed to its original readers and how best to convey those same assumptions to modern readers using the two relevance theoretic approaches.

Finally, chapter five draws some tentative conclusions regarding the value of direct and indirect translation as Bible translation methods in the light of the translations produced in the previous chapter.

6. Methodology

The study divides naturally into two main tasks: (a) explicating the implications of relevance theoretic approaches to Bible translation and (b) testing the applicability of those implications by translating the letter to Titus. Since these two tasks require different methodologies, I shall describe my approach to each separately.

6.1. Stage 1: Approaches to Translation

6.1.1. Resources

The source materials for this stage of the study consist entirely of literature written on either communication theory or translation theory. Primary resources include works describing relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 1987, and 1995) and its application to Bible translation (Gutt 1990, 1991, and 2000). Secondary resources include all other works dealing with communication theory or translation theory.

6.1.2. Procedure

I explicate the implications of direct and indirect translation in three ways: (a) by comparing and contrasting them with formal and functional equivalence; (b) by exploring the logical implications of applying relevance theoretic concepts to interlingual communication; and (c) by analysing some of their practical implications, that is, examining how each approach handles actual translation problems.

This three-fold explication is accomplished in four steps. First I review formal and functional equivalence, pointing out their strengths and weaknesses. This provides a framework within which the new approaches can be examined. It also draws attention to areas of weakness that the new approaches must improve upon. Then I summarise the main components of relevance theory. Next I explore the theoretical implications of direct and indirect translation. These theoretical implications are derived by applying relevance theoretic principles to interlingual communication. Finally, I analyse the practical implications of the relevance theoretic approaches by examining how they handle common translation problems.

6.2. Stage 2: Exegesis and Translation of Titus

6.2.1. Resources

Primary resources for this stage consist of the original language texts of the Bible. For the NT I shall be using *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (NA27) or the United Bible Society's *Greek New Testament*, 4th ed. (UBS4) as my standard text.¹ Occasionally it may be necessary to refer to the Majority Text (MT); for this I shall use the edition by Robinson and Pierpont (1991). References to the Textus Receptus (TR) are from Scrivener's (1881) edition. When it is necessary to make recourse to the OT, I shall use *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) for the Hebrew text or Rahlfs' (1979) edition of the *Septuagint* (LXX).

¹ The Greek text in each of these editions is identical. All that differs is the punctuation and the apparatus.

Three kinds of secondary resources are extensively used in the study. The first of these are standard NT Greek reference works: (a) lexicons: for most word definitions I rely on either BAGD (1979) or LN (1989); for more detailed assistance I use the abridged version of Kittel and Friedrich (1996); (b) grammars: I rely on BDF (1961), Moule (1959), Moulton (1908), Robertson (1934), Turner (1963), and Wallace (1996) for authoritative assistance with grammatical problems. The next group of sources that play a crucial role in this study are English commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles, with Banker (1994), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Fee (1988), Guthrie (1957), Hanson (1982), Hendriksen (1957), Kelly (1963), Knight (1992), Lea and Griffin (1992), Quinn (1990), and Towner (1994) being the most important ones. Finally, I regularly make reference to major English translations of Titus, especially to the following modern versions: CEV, GNB, NASB, NET, NIV, NKJV, NLT, NRSV, REB, and RSV.

6.2.2 Procedure

The methodology for this stage is determined by the purpose of the study. The purpose is not to produce a new interpretation of Titus or to shed new light on existing interpretations. Neither does the study aim to reach firm exegetical conclusions on matters of interpretive dispute. The purpose is to examine how relevance theory can guide translators in producing translations that yield the same interpretation as the original text. In other words, the study endeavours to use a communication-based approach to translate Titus, with interpretive resemblance serving as standard for success.² As a rule, the act of translation proceeds upon the assumption that all the major scholarly interpretations of various aspects of Titus are exegetically defensible; a good translation method should be able to convey any interpretation to its readers. Therefore, I attempt to demonstrate how relevance theoretic approaches would handle different interpretations of given passages in Titus. Although relevance theory occasionally helps one to choose between rival interpretations, its real value for translators lies not in the exegetical but in the transfer stage of the translation process. The value of this stage of the present study lies in illustrating the process of moving from interpretation to translation; even if its interpretive conclusions are incorrect, its value will not be seriously compromised.

My general procedure is to divide Titus into discourse units and then work through each discourse unit clause by clause, discussing the semantic relationships between

² That is, comparing the interpretations readers can derive from the translation with those they can derive from the original. This contrasts with comparing the textual features of the translation with those of the original.

components and isolating any features of the original text that pose translation problems.

(Since) relevance theory approaches translation from the perspective of communicative success rather than by comparing original and translated texts for equivalence, one major question is asked concerning each problem investigated: *How closely will a modern reader's interpretation of the translated text resemble a modern reader's interpretation of the source text?*

My general procedure can be broken down into five steps. The first is to divide the letter into discourse units by identifying the opening and closing boundaries of each paragraph as well as the factors that contribute to its coherence.

Then the flow of thought in the paragraph is specified by dividing it into clauses and phrases and analysing the semantic relations between them. This is done using a simplified form of the method known as semantic structure analysis (cf. Young 1994:274-77). However, (whereas a full semantic structure analysis presents the source text as propositions rendered in the receptor language with implicit information made explicit,) mine divides the Greek text of Titus into clauses or phrases and illustrates the semantic relations between those constituents. My method of dividing the text into constituents is based predominantly on syntactical considerations. Each clause is diagrammed separately. Prepositional phrases are diagrammed separately whenever they are deemed to make an independent contribution to the development of the paragraph. Finally, lists of predicate adjectives or participles are separated when the conceptual structure of the list suggests generic-specific relations between the items, but kept together when all the predicates share the same semantic relation to the subject. The system of labels I use is taken from Banker (1994:9).³ Capitalised labels indicate greater prominence than non-capitalised ones; when both halves of a pair are capitalised, it indicates equal semantic prominence.

The next step is to examine each constituent (clause or phrase) in detail, paying particular attention to those that pose difficulties for translation. The goal of this analysis is to identify clues to the meaning the original text would have conveyed to its original audience by scrutinising its lexical, grammatical, rhetorical, and contextual components. At this stage I rely heavily on observations derived from commentators. Where differences of opinion arise as to the correct interpretation, I try to discuss all the major views, but do not always endeavour to reach a definite conclusion.

³ One significant change from Banker's system is that I do not distinguish HEAD-reason from HEAD-grounds relations.

Step four is to decide how the meaning of the text can be successfully communicated to the receptor audience through a translation. After discussing the meaning of a word, phrase, or clause, I turn my attention to how best that meaning can be communicated to English readers. Where there are rival interpretations, the most effective way of conveying each view is discussed. In the process, the merits and demerits of the renderings chosen by major English translations are also considered and suggestions are made for a direct and an indirect translation.

Finally, sample direct and indirect translations of each pericope and of the whole letter are provided. During the analysis of Titus, these translations are placed in parallel columns at the beginning of each pericope. Although they represent the end product of the analysis of a given pericope, they are placed at the beginning of the analysis to orient the reader to what follows. Placing them in parallel columns enables the reader to see the similarities and differences between the two approaches to translation at a glance. At the end of the study, complete direct and indirect translations of Titus are included in separate appendices.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

1. The Current State of Studies in Bible Translation

1.1. Historical Overview of Approaches to Bible Translation

The familiar dichotomy of literal versus idiomatic translations is as old as the practice of Bible translation itself. The first translation of the OT from Hebrew into Greek, the Septuagint (LXX), varies from near wooden literalism in some places to virtual paraphrase in others (Nida 1996). Other early Greek translations of the OT confirm that both literal and idiomatic approaches were familiar to early translators. Aquila's translation (ca. 130 C.E.) stuck to the Hebrew text with such literalness as to make it almost incomprehensible to Greek speakers who did not understand Hebrew. By contrast, the versions produced by Symmachus and Theodotion (late 2nd century C.E.) both rendered the OT into stylistic, idiomatic Greek.⁴

The Vulgate reflects similar theoretical tensions. Jerome himself admitted that his normal practice when translating was to translate "sense for sense and not word for word" (quoted in Comfort 1991, chap. 7). Yet when it came to translating the Bible, he "felt the compulsion to render word for word." Nevertheless, the resultant Vulgate was much closer to the language of the common man than other Latin translations in circulation. In spite of Jerome's belief that literalness was necessary, he could not break away from his customary habit of translating idiomatically (a method he had probably learned through the influence of leading Roman translators, most notably Cicero).

The next major figure in the history of Bible translation theory is Martin Luther. Luther argued for an idiomatic approach that makes the Bible understandable to the masses. According to Nida (1964:14-15), "Luther deserves full credit for having sensed the importance of full intelligibility.... [H]e also carefully and systematically worked out the

⁴ Significantly, even these early translations reflect the impact that the background of the translator and the purpose for which he/she is translating upon the philosophy used. Aquila was a devout Jew whose translation is said to have been "executed for the express purpose of opposing the authority of the Septuagint" (Brenton 1976:v). His motivation explains his literal approach. Symmachus and Theodotion were respectively "a kind of semi-Christian" and a Jewish proselyte (cf. Brenton 1976:v). Their motivation was not to defend the authority of the Hebrew text but to make its message understandable, perhaps for the purpose of proselyting Greeks.

implications of his principles of translation.” Luther applied his theory in his German translation of the New Testament.

Three other men also published lists of translation principles that tended toward a thought for thought approach. They were Etienne Dolet in 1540, George Campbell in 1789, and Alexander Tytler (who plagiarised Campbell) in 1790.

From the fact that almost everyone who wrote about translation theory from 1500 to 1800 C.E. argued for an idiomatic approach, it would be natural to assume that this was the dominant method during that period. However, the opposite is the case, at least as far as English Bible translations were concerned.⁵ Every major English translation of the Bible up to and including the publication of the ASV in 1901 was essentially literal in its approach (Bruce, 1978). Literal rendering was the default method of translation. Those who wrote about translation theory often did so because they found the default method unacceptable and wanted to swing the pendulum toward more idiomatic rendering.

general
1500-1800
= idiomatic

English
= literal

By the time that the RV was commissioned in 1870, the influence of these attempts had certainly been felt. Two distinct schools of thought were present amongst the group of scholars commissioned for the task. Those trained at Oxford “aimed at conveying the sense of the original in free idiomatic English without too much regard for the precise wording of the former” (Metzger 1993a:146). Those trained at Cambridge, however, “paid meticulous attention to verbal accuracy, so as to translate as literally as possible without positive violence to English usage, or positive misrepresentation of the author’s meaning, and to leave it to the reader to discern the sense from the context” (Metzger 1993a:146).

The latter method prevailed as far as the RV and its American counterpart the ASV were concerned, but it was not long thereafter that significant idiomatic Bible translations began to appear, most notably those by James Moffatt (1913) and Edgar Goodspeed (1923). However, although these idiomatic translations were gaining in influence, they were far from taking over as the dominant approach to translation. This is evidenced by the fact that the next major English translation, the RSV (1952), was once again a strictly literal rendering. Thus it is fair to say that right up until the 1950s formal equivalence was the dominant approach to Bible translation in the English speaking world.

⁵ Hermans (1999:74), by means of his comment on the tendency of “eighteenth-century European translators ... to disambiguate words or passages,” implies that idiomatic translation was the dominant approach to general translation during this period. Literal translation did, however, dominate English Bible translation throughout this period.

1.2. Nida: *The Rise of Dynamic Equivalence*

During the first half of the twentieth-century there was mounting pressure to produce Bible translations that would “speak to their readers” as the original biblical texts “spoke to their readers.” Goodspeed (1937:113) reflects this pressure: “I wanted my translation to make on the reader something of the impression the New Testament must have made on its earliest readers.” Phillips had similar goals in producing *The New Testament in modern English*. He explains his objectives as follows:

I still feel that the most important “object of the exercise” is communication. I see it as my job as one who knows Greek pretty well and ordinary English very well to convey the living quality of the N.T. documents. I want above all to create in my readers the same emotions as the original writings evoked nearly 2,000 years ago (Phillips 1972:viii).⁶

The emergence of neo-orthodoxy with its claim that the Bible should “speak to us” was one of the major ideological influences behind this trend (Thomas 1990b). Conservative Christianity, however, would never openly embrace something it perceived to have roots in neo-orthodoxy; in fact, belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible had been the main reason formal equivalence had dominated for so long. If idiomatic approaches to Bible translation were to become the norm they would need to be theoretically justified on non-ideological grounds.

neo-orthodoxy
in
the verbal
inspiration
theory

The scene was set for the entrance of Eugene Nida, whose publications in the 1960s proved to be a major turning point for Bible translation theory. The two critical works were *Toward a science of translating* (Nida 1964) and *The theory and practice of translation* (Nida and Taber 1969). Nida, an evangelical Christian with a strong desire to produce translations that could serve as missionary tools, assumed that translation falls within the general domain of communication. He based his theory on the prevailing code-model of communication. In so doing he made two fundamental assumptions: (a) any message can be communicated to any audience in any language provided that the most effective form of expression is found; (b) humans share a core of universal experience which makes such communication possible.

Nida

Working with these as his starting assumptions, Nida applied insights from the rapidly developing field of linguistics to develop a scientific approach to translation. By applying the latest linguistic advances to translation theory he was able to provide theoretically sound reasons for translating the Bible idiomatically rather than literally. Thus he managed to

⁶ Although Phillips wrote these words in 1972, he was describing his motivation for a task he began in 1941.

persuade the world of Bible translators that dynamic equivalence (later called functional equivalence, De Waard and Nida 1986) was more than a just reader-friendly method of translation; it was a scientific method.

To Nida the goal of translation is to produce an equivalent message, that is, to reproduce "the total dynamic character of the [original] communication" (Nida 1964:120). Translation can therefore be defined as "the reproduction in a receptor language of the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning, and second in terms of style" (Nida and Taber 1969:12). If the meaning and style of the receptor language text faithfully reproduces that of its source, then the effect it has upon its readers should be similar to that of its source. Consequently, dynamic equivalence can be defined in terms of equivalence of receptor response. Nida and Taber (1969:24) put it this way:

Dynamic equivalence is therefore to be defined in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language. This response can never be identical, for the cultural and historical settings are too different, but there should be a high degree of equivalence of response, or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose.

The question is, "How does one go about transferring the message from the source to the receptor language in such a way that it retains the dynamics of the original?" This is where linguistics comes into play. Q

Nida did not limit himself to one particular school of linguistic thought, but drew from a variety of schools. The most important aspect of his methodology was generative-transformational grammar, which he adapted and simplified from Noam Chomsky (1957, 1965, and 1972).⁷ In short, Nida argued that languages consist of surface structures and deep structures (kernels), and that structural differences between languages are much smaller at a deep than at a surface structure level. Consequently, the best way to translate is to reduce the source text to kernel sentences, transfer these into the receptor language, and then reformulate to form a natural receptor-language text.⁸ Nida complemented this approach with a synchronic approach to lexical study in which he grouped words into semantic domains and

generative transformational approach
⊕ synchronic lexical approach

⁷ For a full description of how Nida adapted and simplified Chomsky's ideas in order to apply them to translation, see Genzler 1993:44-60.

⁸ The technique is fully described in Nida and Taber 1969, chapter 3. ✓

then analysed their relations of synonymy, hyponymy, and antonymy using the technique known as *componential analysis* (Nida 1975b).

In the 1960s and 1970s Nida's views were indeed scientific, being based on the best available linguistic theory. As a result they have dominated Bible translation theory right up to the present time, forming the backbone of the translation approaches adopted by the United Bible Societies and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Many of the leading translation theorists of the past 30 years—Beekman and Callow (1974), Wilss (1982), Larson (1984)—have simply built upon the foundation he laid.

His impact upon Bible translation practice has also been pervasive. The influence of functional equivalence is most explicitly seen in the number of translations that have openly embraced its ideology and methodology, such as the CEV, GNB, NIV, and NLT, to name just a few. What is even more telling is that its influence is also evident in those translations that have not officially embraced it. The NRSV is a good example of this. Although it officially claims to be a literal translation, it is considerably more idiomatic than its predecessor (RSV). Who can argue with Carson's (1993:41) conclusion that "dynamic (or functional) equivalence has triumphed, whether the expression itself be embraced or not; even among translators who think of their work as more 'literal,' its influence is pervasive"?

1.3. Gutt: A Relevance Theoretic Account

The publication *Relevance: Communication and cognition* (Sperber and Wilson 1986) paved the way for the first significant theoretical challenge to functional equivalence's claim to being the best available approach to Bible translation.⁹ Sperber and Wilson undermined the foundation on which functional equivalence was built when they argued that the code model was not the best theory of communication. In its place they proposed an inferential model, which they called *relevance theory*. The central tenet of relevance theory is that communication does not take place solely by encoding and decoding processes, but by the communicator providing evidence of his/her communicative intention. This evidence may be linguistically encoded, contextually inferred, or a combination of these two.

⁹ This does not imply that functional equivalence had achieved complete acceptance. There remained plenty who objected to this approach to Bible translation, but they usually based their objections on ideological rather than linguistic criteria (see, for example, Thomas 1990a and 1990b). As such their objections could not undermine functional equivalence's claim to being a theoretically sound approach.

Sperber and Wilson may have paved the way, but it was Ernst-August Gutt who pointed out the theoretical implications that relevance theory has for translation theory.¹⁰ In *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context* (1991; 2nd ed. in 2000) he argued that relevance theory provides the much needed framework for understanding translation. Gutt (2000:202) distinguishes between “*approaches to translation*” and “*accounts of translation*.”¹¹ (*Approaches to translation*) refer to different translation methods, whereas (*accounts of translation*) denote attempts to clarify “what this phenomenon is all about, what its nature and characteristics are.” Although Gutt discusses various approaches to translation and even advocates two of his own, *his main goal is to provide a unified account of translation.* He makes this emphatically clear in the second edition, saying “this book intends to be a (theoretical) *account of translation*; its focus is to explain how the phenomenon of translation works. It does not constitute or advocate a particular way of translating” (2000:203).

His objective is thus broader than that of Nida. (Whereas Nida set out to prescribe a method of translation,) Gutt tried to formulate a comprehensive theory of translation. Gutt’s account of translation certainly has far-reaching implications for the development of approaches to translation, but these are incidental to his main objective.

Nida
or
Gutt

In view of the immense importance of Gutt’s work for this study, a chapter by chapter synopsis of the argument of *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context* (1991 and 2000) is in order.

The first two chapters lay the foundation, analysing the nature of the problem (lack of a comprehensive account of translation) and the key to its resolution (relevance theory). Chapter 1 outlines the problem to be addressed, namely, “the lack of a comprehensive approach¹² to translation that is both systematic and theoretically sound” (Gutt 1991:1). Gutt tries to demonstrate that all previous attempts have failed to account for *all* the relevant data. In chapter 2 he reviews the main tenets of relevance theory, drawing particular attention to

¹⁰ There have also been some minor studies—independent of Gutt—regarding the value of relevance theory for Bible translation. For example, Ferdinand Deist (1992) argued that relevance theory can help with the “(a) disambiguation of ambiguous constituents, (b) assigning referents to terms, and (c) the enrichment of vague terms or forms.”

¹¹ Although Gutt only makes this distinction explicit in the second edition of *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context* (2000), the distinction is consistently implied in his earlier works.

¹² His use of terminology did not consistently distinguish between *accounts of translation* and *approaches to translation* until the Postscript of the second edition of *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context*. The argument of the book shows that “comprehensive approach to translation” here really means “comprehensive account of translation.”

those that are important for translation—its conception of context, the principle of relevance, and the difference between descriptive and interpretive use of language.

In chapter 3 he examines the kind of translation in which the content of the translated text is not determined by the source text;¹³ he calls this “covert translation.” Covert translation has historically proved problematic for translation theorists because it makes the scope of what their account of translation must explain extremely broad. Gutt’s solution is to exclude such translations from the scope of what a comprehensive account of translation should explain. Covert translations are effectively original documents; therefore, they have no bearing upon the formulation of a general theory of translation.

In chapter 4 Gutt examines meaning-based approaches¹⁴ to translation to see whether they “can provide the basis of an explicit general theory of translation” (2000:72). He shows that the foundational assumption of these approaches—the a given message can be communicated to any audience regardless of their cognitive environment—is simply false. He argues that these approaches fail to take the highly context-dependent nature of communication seriously enough. As a result their explanation of how successful translation can take place is inadequate because they have no satisfactory way of conveying the contextually derived implications of the source text to readers whose contextual environment differs markedly from that of the original readers. Consequently, they cannot achieve their aim of communicating the meaning of the original. Since they fail to achieve their stated aim they cannot provide a comprehensive account of translation.

At this point in his book Gutt has eliminated the need to account for covert translation and revealed major weaknesses in functional equivalence. The platform is set for him to propose his own solutions. In the remainder of the book he attempts, within a relevance theoretic framework, to account for translation as a form of interlingual quotation.

In chapter 5 Gutt outlines indirect translation, which is the first of two *approaches* that can lay claim to being translation proper within a relevance theoretic framework. Indirect translation is based on the notion of the interlingual interpretive use of language. In practice indirect translation turns out to be quite similar to functional equivalence in that it suffers from all the same limitations, namely, that the whole meaning of the original cannot be

¹³ Translating such things as travel brochures, advertisements and operational manuals fall into this category. In such cases the effectiveness of the translated text is not determined by or measured in terms of its faithfulness to the source document.

¹⁴ He regards Nida (1964), Nida and Taber (1969), Beekman and Callow (1974) and Larson (1984) as representative of this approach. Throughout this dissertation I shall be referring to these approaches as “functional equivalence,” which I am using as a generic term for all idiomatic approaches to translation.

conveyed across contextual chasms. It is nevertheless a valid form of translation, one in which the translator does not purport to convey all the assumptions of the original but only those that are deemed relevant to the receptor audience.¹⁵ (Indirect translation) is “a flexible, context-sensitive concept of translation ... which allows for very different types of target texts to be called translation” (Fawcett 1997:138); it is suitable for translation situations in which the translator does not need to convey all the assumptions of the original to the receptor readers.

Gutt acknowledges that there is a need for a kind of translation that does try to convey the explicit content of the original (2000:129). To meet this need he devotes chapter 6 to expounding the concept of direct translation. (Direct translation) is a kind of interlingual direct quotation in which the translation aims to preserve the linguistic properties of the original. To compensate for the structural differences between languages, these linguistic properties are defined in terms of the communicative clues they provide rather than by their formal elements. By retaining all the communicative clues of the original, direct translation enables readers to recover the full author-intended meaning of the original provided they use the contextual assumptions envisaged for the original to interpret the translated text. This “fixed, context-independent” (Fawcett 1997:138) approach enables Gutt to account for those kinds of translation situations where the receptors require the translation “to somehow stick to the explicit content of the original” (Gutt 2000:129).

Gutt has thus allowed room for two vastly different approaches to translation. Although this does not constitute a problem for translation practice, it does mean that Gutt has not succeeded in providing a unified theoretical account of translation—unless he can show that both approaches can be explained on the same grounds. This is what he does in chapter 7. His unified account is based on that fact that direct translation is after all a kind of interpretive use (which it did not appear to be at first). This means that both indirect and direct translation are forms of interpretive use. As a result all real forms of translation (covert translation is not real translation) can be accounted in terms of interlingual interpretive use.

1.4. Responses to Gutt

Translation and relevance: Cognition and context (Gutt 1991) elicited widespread response from translation theorists. Reviews have ranged from highly positive (Winckler and Van der Merwe 1993; Evans 1997; Van der Merwe 1999) through those who find it theoretically interesting but practically unhelpful (Malmkjær 1992; Tirkkonen-Condit 1992;

¹⁵ The reason indirect translation is translation while covert translation is not is that indirect translation purports to interpretively resemble someone else's thought whereas covert translation does not.

Fawcett 1997) to ardent opposition (Wendland 1996a, 1996b, and 1997). A survey of the kind of dialogue that has emerged should help to identify areas that are especially open to further investigation.

1.4.1. Critical Responses

A Perhaps the most common criticism of Gutt (1991) has been that he fails to provide translators with anything of practical value. Malmkjær's (1992:306) complaint that "if they [translators] want direct help with their everyday concerns, they should not expect to find it here" is a typical example. Wendland (1996b and 1997), similarly, objects on the grounds that the principle of relevance is too vague a concept to be of practical value to translators; it does not provide them with the kind of concrete help they need when (a) making translation decisions or (b) evaluating the faithfulness of translated texts. *prakt*

B Another common objection is that the distinction between direct and indirect translation is little more than the age old dichotomy of literal versus idiomatic translation, of form versus meaning—just with more attention being paid to source and receptor contexts (Wendland 1997:87). This criticism regards direct translation as being synonymous with formal equivalence. Wendland (1997:86) accuses Gutt of making "an elaborate, theoretically-based effort to justify what is commonly termed a 'literal' approach to Bible translation." Even Sequeiros (1998), who does not view direct and indirect translation as different names for literal and idiomatic translation, regards direct translation as literal translation with a strong focus on formal elements. *dir/ind*

C A third objection is that by advocating resemblance in relevant respects indirect translation opens the door for translators to distort the meaning of the source text in order make it optimally relevant to their readers (Sappire 1994; Wendland 1996b).

1.4.2. Positive Responses

Gutt has also received a number of positive reviews, hailing his work as a significant advance in translation *theory*. Winckler and Van der Merwe (1993) were among the first writers to explore the practical implications of *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context* (Gutt 1991) for Bible translation. The authors embrace a relevance theoretic account of translation as an improvement over previous code-model based accounts. Working on that assumption they attempt to summarise "the positive conclusions argued for by Gutt" into fourteen "pointers" to guide Bible translators. These pointers represent an attempt to expound some of the implications of Gutt's work and present them in a more user-friendly format so as to make them more readily available to translators. The practical value of the article lies (a) in

the excellent definitions it provides of direct and indirect translation and (b) in its tentative proposal about the kinds of analysis translators should include in their search for a text's communicative clues.

Evans (1997) claims that the relevance theoretic definition of context and the nature of its understanding of implications derived from figurative language implies that translators should try to translate many figurative expressions quite literally. The reason for this is that the co-text of a discourse plays a crucial role in generating the cognitive environment with which the reader will interpret the remainder of the discourse.

In the course of discussing the need for a concordant translation of the Bible in Afrikaans, Van der Merwe (1999) delves into some of the practicalities of producing a direct translation.¹⁶ He wrestles with whether or not such a translation is justifiable in terms of its target audience, its cumbersomeness, and its costliness. He argues that within a Bible reading community, the majority of readers prefer a functionally equivalent type of translation,¹⁷ but a small nucleus of "serious Bible readers" would prefer a more literal rendering in which less of the interpretive decisions are made for them. However, he foresees several problems, mostly brought about by the relatively small number of target readers he envisions for such a translation in Afrikaans. If a direct translation is understood as requiring extensive explanatory notes, the resultant translation becomes both cumbersome to use and costly to produce. He argues that such a translation may be impractical as a printed text, but that electronic media (Internet or CD Rom) may provide a practical means of making it available to its target readership. The use of electronic media could also help to reduce the both the costliness and the cumbersomeness of the final product.

Van der Merwe (1999) also addresses the problem of what a direct translation should look like. Relying on an inferential model of communication has two important implications for the form a translation should adopt. Firstly, traditional notion of formal equivalence limited equivalence between languages to lexical and grammatical levels. Modern advances in linguistics have shown that structural and conventional differences between languages extend beyond these two basic levels. Therefore, a direct translation should include higher levels of equivalence, such as "semantic, text-linguistic, pragmatic and socio-linguistic agreement." Secondly, the translation needs to provide readers with sufficient historical and sociocultural

¹⁶ Van der Merwe's use of the term 'concordant translation' in this article corresponds closely to his definition of a 'direct translation' in an earlier article (Winckler and Van der Merwe 1993:53-54).

¹⁷ That is, in relevance theoretic terms, indirect translations.

explanatory notes to enable them to interpret its contextually implied information correctly. In other words, the translators need to supply the information needed to enlarge the contextual environment of its readers, thereby enabling it to communicate successfully with them.

1.5. A Proposal for Further Investigation

Using the relevance theoretic pragmatics as his guiding framework, Gutt set out to provide a unified account of translation. Given that his work assumes the validity of relevance theory as an explanation of human communication and that his conclusions are therefore dependent upon that assumption, Gutt has succeeded admirably in achieving his goal. Even Peter Fawcett, who seems sceptical about the practical value of Gutt's theory, appears to concede this when he says,

Having promised a unified theory of translation, what Gutt actually delivers, in an eloquent and enjoyably sharp argument, is a unified general concept that covers, while leaving intact, two completely different forms of translation (1997:244).

This is precisely what Gutt was trying to do—offer a comprehensive account of translation without prescribing a particular approach. His underlying assumption is that if translators understand the nature of translation they will be able to choose an approach to translation that suits their objectives.

Gutt did not attempt to work out all the details of how his two approaches to translation would work in practice. This is made emphatically clear in the Postscript of the second edition of *Translation and relevance: Communication and cognition* (Gutt 2000). In the process of formulating his account of translation, Gutt inevitably had to delve into the nature of the direct and indirect approaches. A point that has sometimes been missed by reviewers~~s~~ is that when doing so he was not trying to fully expound all the details of the approaches themselves, but simply to show that together they provide a comprehensive account of translation.

My brief review of the critical responses to Gutt (1991) suggests that there has been ✓ widespread misunderstanding of the implications of his account of translation, especially with regard to how his direct and indirect approaches would actually be applied to specific translation tasks. Even those who have attempted to expound upon these approaches have not delved so deeply into the issue as make the theoretical and practical implications of each of these approaches clear.

My goal is to explore the implications that Gutt's account of translation has for developing relevance theoretic approaches to translation, with special reference to how those approaches can be applied to Bible translation. I shall first attempt to spell out the various

implications that are implicit in Gutt's description of each approach. Then I shall demonstrate their practical application to Bible translation by examining translational issues in the letter to Titus.

2. The Current State of Studies in the Pastoral Epistles

In *Tradition and rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles*, Mark Harding (1998) efficiently places the current state of studies in the Pastoral Epistles in its historical setting. My outline of the state of studies in the Pastoral Epistles is a simplified summary of the main schools of thought presented in Harding's second chapter, "Four approaches to the Pastoral Epistles."¹⁸ Broadly speaking, three major schools of thought have emerged in the study of the Pastoral Epistles since the beginning of the nineteenth century: (a) the critical school, (b) the conservative school, and (c) the continuity school.¹⁹

2.1. The Critical School

This critical school includes those scholars who follow in the tradition initiated by F. C. Baur (1835) and H. J. Holtzmann (1880).²⁰ The distinguishing feature of this school of thought is its emphasis on the differences between the Pastoral Epistles and the authentic Pauline epistles. Its goal is to prove that the Pastoral Epistles are not authentic Pauline letters and then study them as a self-standing corpus reflecting concerns facing the church in the first half of the second century C.E.

The approach employs a comparative methodology, ^{a)} contrasting the Pastoral Epistles with the undisputed Pauline letters and comparing them with second century Christian literature. The pioneering work of Baur (1835) and Holtzmann (1880) was primarily concerned with the matter of authorship. Baur argued, mainly on historical grounds, that the Pastoral Epistles were mid-second century documents written in opposition to the highly developed Gnostic heresies which pervaded that period, probably with special reference to Marcion. Holtzmann dated the Pastoral Epistles in the first half of the second century and identified the false teachers only as "Gnostics who are provided with Jewish pedigrees by the author" (Harding 1998:12). He conducted a thorough comparative analysis of the vocabulary,

¹⁸ Harding 1998:8-83.

¹⁹ These labels are mine rather than Harding's. Harding distinguishes four approaches: (a) Baur-Holtzmann, (b) defenders of Pauline authorship, (c) studies in *Traditionsgeschichte*, and (d) the approach of D. J. Christiaan Beker. My labels correspond to Harding's categories (a)-(c). His (d) fits loosely under (c); it does not constitute a school of thought on the Pastoral Epistles.

²⁰ Schleiermacher (1807) first suggested that Paul did not write 1 Timothy. Eichhorn (1812) extended Schleiermacher's arguments to all three Pastoral Epistles. These two men paved the way for Baur and Holtzmann to conduct their thorough critical analysis of the Pastoral Epistles.

style, and theology of the Pastoral Epistles in order to prove that they were pseudepigraphic second century documents rather than genuine Pauline letters.

Holtzmann's work was so persuasive that (by the beginning of the twentieth century) it was widely accepted in scholarly circles that the Pastoral Epistles were not authentic. Other scholars continued to develop the lines of argumentation he had initiated and to counter the arguments of those who challenged his conclusions. Perhaps the most notable new development was Harrison's (1921) proposal of the fragment hypothesis. He argued that the historical allusions within the Pastoral Epistles were fragments from lost Pauline letters that the author weaved into his own letters. Most of these scholars concluded that the Pastoral Epistles were written pseudonymously in ca. 90-110 C.E. in opposition to a Jewish-Gnostic false teaching.

2.2. The Conservative School

The conservative school defends Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, interpreting them as authentic letters from Paul to Timothy and Titus written in about 65 C.E. It attempts to answer the allegations of the critical school that these letters are completely incompatible with Pauline authorship. Consequently, whereas the critical school accentuates the differences between the Pastoral Epistles and the undisputed Pauline letters, the conservative school emphasises the similarities and attempts to provide reasonable explanations for the differences that remain.

This position is usually taken by conservative scholars who² (for theological reasons) find it unacceptable to include pseudepigraphic writings in the Christian canon, a conviction that seems to have been shared by the early church (Davies 1996; Donelson 1986; Ellis 1992; Lea 1984).²¹ While admitting certain differences between the Pastoral Epistles and the other Pauline letters, they argue that the differences are not as large as the critical school contents and that the case against Pauline authorship is not conclusive. In many instances the argument between these two schools of thought revolves around conflicting interpretations of the same data. The data are primarily from three sources: (a) historical discrepancies, (b) stylistic and lexical differences, and (c) theological differences.

Historically, they place the Pastoral Epistles after Paul's (presumed) release from his first Roman imprisonment (Acts 28:11-31), arguing that the historical allusions in the Pastoral

²¹ Although some scholars still defend the view that the early church knew the Pastoral Epistles were pseudepigraphic (Fiore 1986; Karris 1979; Meade 1986), most advocates of pseudonymity now acknowledge that if they were pseudepigraphic, the early church was not aware of it.

Epistles have all the marks of authenticity. Rather than testifying against Pauline authorship, historical allusions represent strong evidence for it. They acknowledge the fact that the differences in style and vocabulary are difficult to explain, but regard the theological content of the Pastoral Epistles as being thoroughly Pauline in content, with allowance made for differences in emphasis.

2.3. The Continuity School

The third approach has emerged as a natural outgrowth of the forces at work through the other two schools. It embraces the critical school's conclusion that the Pastoral Epistles are pseudepigraphic writings, but also reflects the influence of the conservative school's attempt to prove their genuinely Pauline character. Harding (1998:24) describes it as

a recent development among scholars who seek a more sympathetic account of the Pauline character of the literary, ecclesiological, and theological formulations of the PE.

In their efforts to disprove Pauline authorship, critical scholars overemphasised the differences between the Pastoral Epistles and the undisputed Pauline letters. The influence of the conservative school has made these exaggerated contrasts apparent and shown the large degree of continuity in thought between the Pastoral and Pauline epistles. The new school of thought accepts the pseudonymous authorship of the Pastoral Epistles as a proven fact and seeks to re-examine their relation to Pauline thought in an intellectual climate free of the need to prove their distinctiveness.

Although the Pastoral Epistles (were written pseudonymously) they reflect a large degree of continuity with true Pauline thought. Their author has attempted to interpret and apply Pauline thought to his own generation (ca. 80-120 C.E.). He attempted to make Paul's ideas speak afresh to his own historical situation, a situation that differed substantially from those that Paul actually addressed. His goal was to accurately represent Paul to his own generation and thereby ensure the faithful preservation of the Pauline tradition.

What really sets men like Brox (1989), Roloff (1988), Trummer (1978), Wegenast (1962), and Wolter (1988) apart from those in the Baur-Holtzmann tradition is not their belief that the author of the Pastoral Epistles tried to remain true to Paul, but their estimation of how well he succeeded. Whereas older scholars believed the author had completely misunderstood Paul's gospel, the new tendency is to commend him for his excellent grasp of Paul's thought. "No other document from the post-Pauline era is so closely oriented to Paul's own thought ... than the PE" (Harding 1998:31, referring to Brox 1989).

CHAPTER 3

APPROACHES TO BIBLE TRANSLATION

1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose

The purpose of the whole study is to examine the implications that insights drawn from relevance theory have for the way the Bible is translated. The study aims to explicate the implications of two relevance theoretic approaches to translation (direct and indirect translation) with special reference to how they would be applied to Bible translation, specifically to NT epistles. This central purpose divides into two main tasks, one theoretical and the other practical. The theoretical task is to explain how direct and indirect translation approach the translation task, that is, to explore the implications of approaching Bible translation within a relevance theoretic framework. The practical task is to demonstrate how the principles outlined in the theoretical stage are applied to a NT epistle.

This chapter tackles the first of these two tasks, the theoretical problem. It represents an attempt to provide a succinct and clear description of direct and indirect translation, developing them into clearly defined translation methods. This description will then provide the theoretical basis for the translation of Titus proposed in the following chapter.

1.2. Overview

In section 2, I review formal and functional equivalence, summarising the main points of each approach. Since the easiest way to assimilate new information is by relating it to old information, this provides a framework for understanding the two new approaches. Functional equivalence receives more attention than formal equivalence because it is the approach that has for the past 35 years laid claim to being the most scientific way of translating. The implications of any new approach must be clearly understood in relation to it.

Next, in section 3, I overview the model of communication known as relevance theory and draw attention to those aspects of it that have special significance for translation theory. I show how it differs from two other models and argue that the inferential model provides the most helpful framework for understanding translation. This section, like the preceding one, is intended to provide the necessary background for understanding indirect and direct translation. A working knowledge of relevance theory is a prerequisite for understanding the

implications of relevance theoretic approaches to translation. In fact, understanding the underlying philosophy is even more important for relevance theoretic approaches than for functional equivalence because, unlike functional equivalence, the relevance theoretic approaches do not provide translators with lists of guidelines that can be used without understanding their underlying philosophy. Instead, the new approaches simply apply relevance theoretic insights to different problems; if one understands relevance theory, its implications for any translation problem can be worked out without recourse to an existing list of guidelines. My own examination of indirect and direct translation is exactly this—an exploration of how relevance theory guides translation decisions.

Section 4 constitutes the main body of the chapter. In it I explore the implications of the two relevance theoretic approaches to translation, explaining how each approaches translation and why it does so in that manner. I show how they handle different translation issues and assess their value as approaches to Bible translation. The section closes with responses to some of the most common objections to relevance theoretic approaches.

Finally, section 5 summarises the main points of the chapter and draws some tentative conclusions regarding the value for Bible translation of the two relevance theoretic approaches.

2. Formal and Functional Equivalence

2.1. Introduction

The goal of every Bible translator, in the broadest sense, is to convey the meaning of the source text in the receptor language. Bible translators agree that this is their main objective, but they disagree about how best to achieve it. Over the past 35 years there have been two competing theories about how best to convey the meaning of the original: formal equivalence and functional equivalence.²²

In their quest to produce a translation that is equivalent to the original, translators must take two aspects of the original into account: (a) its form and (b) its meaning.²³ The *form* of a text consists of the structural components of the source language, predominantly its lexical and grammatical systems, though its phonological system and its rhetorical devices can also

²² *Functional equivalence* is here used as a generic name for an approach to translation that has also been referred to by several other names, such as *dynamic equivalence*, *closest natural equivalence*, and *idiomatic translation*. Though there are slight differences between these approaches, for the purpose of this review they are similar enough to be treated as one method.

²³ Beekman and Callow (1974) speak of form and meaning, whereas Nida (1964) speaks of form and content. They do, however, mean essentially the same thing by “meaning” and “content.”

be treated as aspects of its form. The *meaning* is the message that the text conveys to its readers (Beekman and Callow 1974:20). The crucial question for translators concerns the relationship between form and meaning. In the original text, form and meaning are closely related; form serves as a vehicle for conveying meaning. Since different languages often use different forms to convey a given meaning, translators face a problem: Is the meaning of the original best conveyed by trying to retain the form of the original or by translating into a form that is natural for the receptor language, regardless of whether or not it corresponds to the form of the original? Those who seek to retain the original's form practice formal equivalence; those who do not practice functional equivalence.

Some writers describe the difference between formal and functional equivalence by saying that the former focuses on the form of the original while the latter focuses on its meaning. Although largely true, this statement must be qualified. Both approaches are meaning-centred in that they both aim to convey the meaning of the original. Furthermore, both approaches, generally speaking, regard adherence to the form of the original as desirable when that form is natural to the receptor language and thus does not produce difficulties in understanding. The problems arise when these two clash. Then they differ in that formal equivalence regards retaining the form of the original as an aid to conveying its meaning, whereas functional equivalence views retaining form as a hindrance to effectively and accurately communicating the original's meaning in another language. Thus formal equivalence is more form-centred because it regards form as a means to a greater end, that is, conveying the meaning. Similarly, functional equivalence is meaning-centred in the sense that it is essentially concerned only with the meaning of the original; form is of secondary importance.²⁴ Table 1 shows the main differences between formal and functional equivalence.

²⁴ That is, the form of the original is essential to the meaning of the original *in, and only in, the original language*. The form of the original is crucial when interpreting it, but incidental when translating it. What is crucial when translating is not the form of the original language, but the form of the receptor language.

Table 1. Comparison of Formal and Functional Equivalence

Formal Equivalence	Functional Equivalence
Focuses on form	Focuses on meaning
Emphasises source language	Emphasises receptor language
Translates what was said	Translates what was meant
Presumes original context	Presumes contemporary context
Retains ambiguities	Removes ambiguities
Minimises interpretative bias	Allows for interpretative bias
Valuable for serious Bible study	Valuable for missionary use
Awkward receptor language style	Natural receptor language style

Table 1 highlights the most important differences in emphasis between formal and functional equivalence. The differences should not be thought of as polar distinctions. There are translations at both extremes, either slavishly literal or excessively free, but most scholarly translations fall somewhere between the two extremes. Bruce Metzger (1993a:141) explains the situation:

Of course in the hands of good translators neither of these two approaches can ever be entirely ignored. The question is merely which should come first, and which second, in the translator's mind; and when the two are in conflict and it is therefore necessary to choose between them, the question is which side is to be sacrificed.

Let us now look at each approach in a little more detail.

2.2. Formal Equivalence

Formal equivalence, also called literal or gloss translation, derives its name from the fact that it focuses primarily on the *form* of the original. Wherever possible it attempts to retain the formal features of the original language in the translation.²⁵ The rationale behind this is that "the meaning of the original is best communicated by translating it into a linguistic form which closely parallels that of the original language" (Beekman and Callow 1974:20).

The translated text corresponds to its source's form in three ways. Firstly, its genre matches that of the original. Formal equivalence translates poetry with poetry, narrative with

²⁵ The times when it is not possible are usually due to the fact that the source language and the receptor language have completely different formal features for communicating a particular thought. Thus any attempt to retain the formal features of the original would result in an incomprehensible or misleading translation.

narrative, and discourse with discourse. Secondly, its grammar parallels that of its source. This includes the following: (a) matching parts of speech—translating verbs with verbs, nouns with nouns, and so on; (b) matching word order—keeping as close to the original's word order as the receptor language permits; (c) matching punctuation, especially sentence breaks; (d) matching verb voice—passives with passives and actives with actives; and (e) rendering rhetorical devices literally—idioms, figures of speech, rhetorical questions, and direct or indirect speech. Formal equivalence also tries to translate a given grammatical construction in the original with a corresponding grammatical construction as consistently as possible. Finally, it strives to achieve word-for-word lexical correspondence in two ways. The one is by having one word in the translation for each word in the source—nothing is left untranslated, neither is a single word rendered by a phrase unless it is absolutely unavoidable. The other is by translating a given word in the original with the same receptor language word as consistently as possible.

Formal equivalence is also source context oriented. This is a natural result of emphasising form. Fee (1985:33) describes it as keeping “the *historical distance* intact.” Nida (1964:159) means the same thing when he says,

A gloss translation of this type is designed to permit the reader to identify himself as fully as possible with a person in the source-language context, and to understand as much as he can of the customs, manner of thought, and means of expression.

By keeping historical distance intact, it not only enables readers to familiarise themselves with the language and culture of the original and to interpret the translation with the original context of the source text in mind, it forces them to do so in order to understand it. The way formal equivalence renders figurative language literally highlights how important it is for the reader of such a translation to be familiar with the culture underlying the source text. For example, no English reader can hope to understand the meaning of *gird up the loins of your mind* (1 Pet 1:13, NKJV) without knowing that the ancients used to tuck their long robes into their belts so as to be able to move more freely.

Another characteristic of formal equivalence is the way it endeavours to retain ambiguities. Wherever the source text can be interpreted in more than one way, formally equivalent translations try to find a literal rendering that allows readers to recover each of the interpretations that a reader of the original could have recovered. This does help to reduce

interpretative bias, but it results in a text that is more ambiguous for the modern reader than the original was for its readers.²⁶

How are we to evaluate formal equivalence? On the positive side, it keeps interpretative bias to a minimum. Also, it makes for a good study Bible because it allows the reader to retrieve many of the nuances of the original (e.g. recurring Greek words, Greek idioms and figures of speech, grammatical elements).²⁷ At the same time, it has some serious drawbacks. By far the most serious is the enormous interpretative burden it places upon readers. This is due to its unnatural style, its many ambiguities, and its requirement that readers be familiar not only with the source context but also with the idiom of the source language. Because it makes only those changes to the form of the original that are necessary to make the English text intelligible, it produces translations that are difficult to read. Spurgeon's evaluation of the RV (1885) is pertinent. He said, "The revision is strong in Greek but weak in English" (quoted in Metzger 1993a:147). Furthermore, formally equivalent translations introduce new ambiguities that arise from unnatural phraseology in the receptor language.

2.3. Functional Equivalence

In this section I shall briefly review some of the distinctive features of functional equivalence. This description is divided into two sections.²⁸ The first addresses the distinctive emphases of a functionally equivalent approach to Bible translation, mainly by way of contrast with the emphases of formal equivalence outlined above. The other identifies the theoretical basis of functional equivalence and points out two flawed assumptions to which it gives rise.

2.3.1. Emphases of Functional Equivalence

Functional equivalence focuses on meaning rather than form. Form is language-particular; different languages use different forms to express the same thought. Retaining the form of the original does not guarantee retaining its meaning. In fact, retaining form often leads to distorting meaning. Therefore, the form of the original is incidental to the form of the

²⁶ Relevance theory supplies the reason for this. Expressions that are linguistically ambiguous in the Greek text were usually not ambiguous to the original readers because they were able to supply the correct, that is, author-intended, contextual assumptions and hence select the correct interpretation.

²⁷ Literal translations are extremely useful to those with knowledge of the original languages because such readers can often reconstruct the original wording and phrasing from the translation.

²⁸ The two men who popularised functional equivalence and made it the dominant approach to Bible translation are Eugene Nida and John Beekman. Since many different people have written about functional equivalence, and each has his/her own slightly distinctive understanding of it, I shall base my summary primarily upon the work of Nida and Beekman. Though their approaches differ slightly, I shall treat them together, being sure to point out any significant differences.

translation. Functional equivalence makes no attempt to retain the form of the source text unless the natural way of expressing the same thought in the receptor language would use a parallel form.

Exactly what does being *meaning focused* imply? The central concern is how well the translation communicates with the reader, how easily and accurately the average prospective reader will be able to retrieve the originally intended meaning. To convey the same meaning,²⁹ a translator must produce a text that is equivalent to the original in two respects: (a) naturalness of expression and (b) ease of understanding. Since the NT writers used linguistic structures that were natural to Koine Greek, NT translators must use natural ways of expressing the same thoughts if they hope to produce an equivalent translated text. If a translation does not express ideas in ways that are natural for the receptor language, the communication load becomes too great and the translation fails to communicate the message effectively to its readers. Thus naturalness of expression leads to ease of understanding, which ensures that the meaning of the original is faithfully communicated to the receptor language reader.

It follows logically that functional equivalence is receptor (language and context) oriented rather than source oriented. Unlike formal equivalence, which is concerned with retaining every detail of the source text, functional equivalence is concerned with communicating effectively with the receptor. Therefore, it considers how its readers will understand and respond to its message. To help them, it takes pains to use linguistic forms that are natural to the receptor language. It “keeps historical distance on all historical and some factual matters, but ‘updates’ matters of language, grammar, and style” (Fee 1985:33).

One of the problems Bible translators face is that people instinctively interpret what they read in light of their own worldview; that is, they read as if it were addressed to their own cultural context and use contemporary presuppositions to interpret an ancient text. There are two ways around the problem. Formal equivalence keeps historical distance, forcing the readers to familiarise themselves with the original context. Functional equivalence translates with the receptor context in mind, phrasing itself in such a way that it will yield essentially the same meaning (or, in Nida’s view, response) as the original even though interpreted with the receptor context in mind. It places the responsibility for avoiding context-based

²⁹ In Beekman and Callow’s (1974) view this has to do with conveying the same information as the original. Nida (1964) and Nida and Taber (1969) approach successfully communicating the meaning of the original from a different slant—receptor response. They argue that the only way to know whether a translation effectively communicates with its readers—whether they understand its message correctly—is by their response.

misinterpretations upon the translators. They must take the receptor context into account and phrase the translation so that when read in that context it yields the same meaning as the original did in its context.³⁰

This approach is particularly evident when handling figurative language. If the original figure of speech would be meaningless to the receptors, the translator either finds an equivalent figure or eliminates the figure altogether. For example, instead of rendering 1 Peter 1:13 *gird up the loins of your mind* (NKJV), a functionally equivalent translation will rephrase the author's meaning, something like *prepare your minds for action* (NIV).

The same approach is also evident when handling ambiguous expressions. The literal meaning of the Greek expression *καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι* in 1 Corinthians 7:1 is *it is good for a man not to touch a woman* (NASB). However, it is disputed whether *to touch a woman* refers to marriage, hence *it is good for a man not to marry* (NIV), or to sexual intercourse, hence *it is good for a man not to have sexual relations with a woman* (NIV margin). Whereas formal equivalence is content to reproduce the potentially meaningless phrase *to touch a woman* and leave it to the readers to figure out its meaning, functional equivalence feels compelled to choose one or the other meaning. This is due to its desire for the translation to communicate well with its readers; if the original communicated single-fold, unambiguous meaning to its readers, so should a good translation.

Functional equivalence has much to commend it. By far its greatest advantage over formal equivalence is the clarity with which it communicates. While it may be debated whether it conveys the message more accurately, no one would argue that translations produced using functional equivalence are easier to read and understand than those produced using formal equivalence. Conversely, it is prone to more interpretative bias because it requires the translator to make many interpretive decisions. For the most part, what is gained in terms of ease of comprehension more than compensates for the danger that the translator may make poor interpretative decisions. Increased readability means the average reader is more likely to read and keep reading. He/she is less likely to become discouraged because the translation is awkward to read and difficult to understand. The danger of interpretative bias is partially offset by the fact that major translations are usually the work of teams of international, interdenominational scholars; their diversity helps prevent sectarian interpretations finding their way into the text. Furthermore, when choices have to be made,

³⁰ The rationale for this is the belief that any message can be communicated in any language to any culture if the correct linguistic form can be found to express it. See Nida (1964:131-132) and Nida and Taber (1969:5). Then contrast Gutt's (1991, chap. 4) rebuttal of this assumption.

trained scholars are better equipped to do so than the average reader.³¹ In conclusion, then, for any purpose other than serious Bible study, functionally equivalent translations are preferable to formally equivalent ones.

2.3.2. Theoretical Basis of Functional Equivalence

The chief aim of functional equivalence is to produce a translation that effectively communicates the message of the original to its receptor-language audience. To achieve this goal, it derives translation principles directly from a communication theory that, until recently, was universally believed to be the only adequate theory of communication—the code model. The code model thus serves as the underlying theoretical basis of functional equivalence.

The code model is an attempt to describe how intralingual communication functions. Translation theorists have adapted and applied its principles to interlingual communication. According to De Waard and Nida (1986), every act of verbal communication involves the interaction between the following seven factors: (a) a code, (b) a source, (c) a message, (d) a receptor, (e) a channel, (f) a setting, and (g) a noise factor. Communication is made possible by the existence of a code, a system of signs shared by the source and the receptor. Using the code, the source encodes a message and sends it via the channel to the receptor. By decoding the received data the receptor can retrieve the source's meaning. The process can be complicated by the presence of noise in the channel. Noise refers to anything that distorts the message between the source and the receptor.

The same factors that play a part in oral communication also contribute to the success or failure of written communication, including Bible translation. The main difference is that there is more noise in written communication, chiefly because (a) writing forces the communicator to be brief and (b) factors like voice inflection and facial expressions are lost. In the case of Bible interpretation, the noise factor is higher still because of the massive language and culture gap between biblical and modern times and because centuries of copying manuscripts by hand has resulted in many textual corruptions.

Those who assume that the code model provides the basis for translation theory make two assumptions that are particularly important for this study, (a) because they exert great

³¹ This is a double-edged point. On the one hand, I believe that every believer has the right to interpret the Scriptures for him/herself. On the other hand, the average reader is ill-equipped to make responsible choices between alternative interpretations; he/she lacks the breadth of knowledge to be able to do so. Thus, by making some of those choices, the translator is more likely to protect the reader from wrong interpretations than blind him/her to correct ones.

influence on functional equivalence and (b) because relevance theory seriously challenges their validity. One is the assumption that a given message can be conveyed in any language³² provided the correct linguistic form is found. Nida and Taber (1969:4) claim that “anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element in the message.” What they mean is that the content of a message that can be linguistically encoded in language A can also be linguistically encoded in language B in such a way that the language B audience can decode the same essential meaning as a language A audience.

The other assumption is closely related to the first. Adherents of the code model assume that if a message is correctly encoded, the decoder can recover exactly what the speaker intended to convey, that is, the message sent and the message received are identical. However, communication theorists recognise that “there is a gap between the semantic representations of sentences and the thoughts communicated by the utterances” (Wilson and Sperber 1987:6). The question is, “How is this gap bridged?” Wilson and Sperber summarise the code model’s solution:

Advocates of the semiotic approach to pragmatics assume that this gap can be filled by adding an extra layer of encoding and decoding. They assume, in other words, that pragmatics is an extension of grammar: that speakers of English know a pragmatic code which is used to disambiguate utterances in English, recover their implicit import, distinguish their literal and figurative meanings, and determine their stylistic effects (1987:6).

If implicit information is built into a text because of an underlying code and can, when correctly decoded, yield precisely the same thoughts that the sender intended, then we must be able to describe the components that make up this pragmatic code. This assumption gives rise to what Gutt (1991) calls a descriptive-classificatory approach to translation. To account for the almost infinite variety of factors that may influence the implicit meaning of a statement, advocates of functional equivalence have developed complex classificatory systems to help translators pinpoint the implicit meaning of each passage.³³

These classificatory schemes work on an, “If X, then Y” principle. If situation X is present in the text, then the statement falls into category Y, and if it belongs in category Y

³² Nida (1981:100) contends that “words only have meaning in terms of the culture of which they are a part.” Therefore, translation is not merely from one language to another, but from one language-culture mix to another. The culture in which a language is used is an inseparable part of the language itself. Therefore, in code model terms, it is reasonable to speak of language-culture settings.

³³ They analyse source language texts and try to identify recurring patterns.

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then its implicit significance is Z. In other words, we can analyse implicit information—which is often completely contextual—in much the same way we analyse grammar. We divide the code into a range of categories. Then one studies a statement in the text to see which category it falls under. Having determined the most likely category, one can pinpoint the exact significance (meaning) of the statement and transfer that meaning into a receptor language form that will convey equivalent implications.

However, relevance theory exposes various flaws in the code model, including the fact that two assumptions I have just described are false. It also offers theoretically sound solutions to those flaws. If correct, this will require theoretical and practical adjustments in current Bible translation methods.

3. Relevance Theory

If translation does fall within the domain of human communication, as many translation theorists contend, then different models of communication will approach translation differently. Any advances in communication theory have far reaching implications for translation theory. In this section I shall contend that the communication model proposed by Dan Sperber and Diedre Wilson (1986, 1987, and 1995) represents the best existing framework for the study of translation.

3.1. *The Emergence of Relevance Theory*

Until 1957 the code model was the only theory of communication. The first notable challenge to the code model came from Paul Grice (1957 and 1968). In place of the code model, Grice proposed an inferential model in which speakers provide evidence from which their audience can infer their informative intention. He “suggested that speakers try to meet certain standards in their communicative behavior, and that hearers use these same standards in evaluating alternative hypotheses about the speaker’s communicative intentions” (Wilson and Sperber 1987:9). Grice suggested one principle (the co-operative principle) and four maxims of conversation (maxims of quality, quantity, relation, and manner) that can be used to infer a speaker’s intended meaning from the range of potential meanings his/her utterance could have.

Grice’s work had an immediate influence on linguistic theory, but did not take over from the code model as the dominant theory of communication. Many linguists (Searle 1969; Schiffer 1972; and even Grice himself) assumed they could combine the Gricean approach to pragmatics with the code model by adding an extra level of coding and decoding. Thus they

treated it “not as an alternative to the old approach, but as an elaboration of it” (Sperber and Wilson 1986:24). As a result the code model remained largely unchallenged until 1986.

Dan Sperber and Diedre Wilson were greatly influenced by Grice’s work. In their estimation,

The Gricean approach to pragmatics,³⁴ while undoubtedly better equipped than the code model to deal with the full range of pragmatic data, leaves a number of important questions unanswered (1987:10).

They sought to iron out the flaws in his inferential model and develop it to the point where it could function as a self-sufficient and fully descriptive account of how human communication functions. They called their revised model *relevance theory*.

3.2. The Principal Elements of Relevance Theory

Relevance theory is too complex a theory to outline here in the sort of detail needed to understand it properly. All I offer here is a cursory outline of the core elements of the theory and a brief discussion of selected aspects that are of particular importance to translation. This summary describes relevance theory only in such detail as is necessary to provide sufficient background information to make sense of the rest of this study.

I shall divide this discussion of relevance theory into two sections. The first section will summarise the main tenets of relevance theory as presented in Wilson and Sperber’s (1987) article, “An outline of relevance theory.” The second section will describe some concepts that emerge from relevance theory that are of particular importance for Bible translators.

3.2.1. The Main Tenets of Relevance Theory

“[T]here is a gap between the semantic representations of sentences and the thoughts communicated by the utterances” (Wilson and Sperber 1987:6). In other words, the meaning conveyed by an utterance is not identical to what is linguistically encoded in the utterance itself. The grammatical and lexical components of a sentence do not convey all of its meaning. That contextual factors fill the gap between the semantic representations of sentences and the thoughts they convey is evident to all. What is less evident is exactly how context does so. If a communication theory is to be fully descriptive of how human communication works, it must account for how the gap between the grammatical content of an utterance and its actual interpretation is bridged. This is where the code model, with its theory that there is a pragmatic code known by all speakers of a given language, falls short.

³⁴ Wilson and Sperber (1987:5) define pragmatics as “the study of the general cognitive principles and abilities involved in utterance interpretation, and their cognitive effects.”

Relevance theory is an ostensive-inferential explanation of how human communication works (usually described as simply an inferential model). In an inferential model communication is not primarily a matter of the speaker encoding and the audience decoding a message. Rather, communication is achieved by the speaker providing evidence of his/her informative intention (Wilson and Sperber 1987:8). The role of the communicator is ostensive—to provide evidence of his/her informative intention in the form of a stimulus, verbal or non-verbal, from which the audience can infer what he/she is trying to communicate. The role of the audience is inferential—to infer from the stimulus provided what the communicator is trying to convey. Thus, in the words of Wilson and Sperber (1987:9), “Inferential communication involves the formation and evaluation of hypotheses about the communicator’s intentions.”

The problem with this is that a stimulus, even a verbal stimulus, can and usually does allow for more than one interpretation. Viewed in isolation most stimuli do not limit the audience to forming a single hypothesis about what the communicator intends to convey. Consider the statement, “Stephen has a choice of two reds into either corner pocket,” made by a snooker commentator. Are there (a) four potable reds, two into each corner pocket or (b) two potable reds, one into each corner pocket. From a purely syntactical point of view meaning (a) is more likely, but in view of the loose way most people use language (because subconsciously they know that contextual factors eliminate ambiguity), either meaning is possible. Thus, viewed in isolation, stimuli tend to be ambiguous.

However, stimuli are never produced in a vacuum; they are always produced in a context. Stimuli that would be ambiguous in a contextual vacuum tend to provide clear, unambiguous evidence of the communicator’s intentions when produced in a specific context. In the example alluded to above, when the snooker commentator remarked that Stephen had a choice of two reds into either corner pocket, the viewer could see that there were only two potable reds, one into the top left and another into the top right corner. Although the commentator’s intended meaning was the syntactically less probable of the two possibilities, when processed in the context to which he knew his audience had access (a clear view of the lie of all the balls on the snooker table), it provided a clear, unambiguous clue to his meaning.

How does context eliminate wrong interpretations and isolate the speaker’s intended meaning? In a given context, only one interpretation of the stimulus will be *relevant* to the

audience.³⁵ If this is not so, the communicator has failed to produce a clear stimulus, usually because he/she failed to anticipate the contextual assumptions with which the audience would interpret the stimulus. Successful verbal communication does not depend upon the speaker producing a completely unambiguous utterance, but upon him/her producing an utterance which, given their contextual knowledge, will be relevant to the receptors in only one sense.³⁶ This notion of context-dependent relevance is the key to interpreting utterances.

The reason that context-dependent relevance provides the key to interpreting potentially ambiguous utterances (stimuli) lies in human nature. What is it that causes people to pay attention to some phenomena rather than others, to perceive only one meaning of an utterance when others are also possible? Wilson and Sperber (1987:10) suggest that “humans tend to pay attention to the most relevant phenomena available.” When confronted with a communicative stimulus, people automatically assume that the interpretation of that stimulus which is most relevant to them is the communicator’s intended meaning. Thus, “Relevance, and the maximisation of relevance, is the key to human cognition.”

Consider the snooker commentator’s remark from the perspective of a viewer. When you, the viewer, hear, “Stephen has a choice of two reds into either corner pocket,” your mind automatically eliminates meaning (a) and selects meaning (b). Why? Because you can see that Stephen has only one red available into each corner pocket, your mind automatically deems meaning (a) as absurd and meaning (b) as consistent with other contextual factors. In reality meaning (a) does not even enter your conscious mind. You do not consciously consider it as an option, even though it is the most natural meaning of the sentence’s syntax. In relevance theoretic terms, meaning (a) is said to be irrelevant and meaning (b) relevant. When confronted with potential ambiguity the human mind singles out the meaning that seems most relevant in a given context.

If relevance is the key to interpreting utterances, what determines whether or not something is relevant to someone? “We claim that information is relevant to you if it interacts in a certain way with your existing assumptions about the world” (Wilson and Sperber 1987:11). New information can interact with someone’s existing assumptions about the world in any of three ways: (a) by strengthening them, (b) by weakening them, or (c) by building upon them (i.e. leading to other assumptions). When new information alters someone’s

³⁵ There could not simultaneously be two reds potable into each corner and one red potable into each corner. The context permitted only one of the two possible interpretations of the commentator’s statement.

³⁶ Naturally, it is the speaker’s responsibility to anticipate what contextual assumptions the audience has access to and to produce an utterance that will be unambiguous in that context.

existing assumptions in one of these ways, that information is said to have produced *contextual effects*. Producing contextual effects is one crucial factor in determining relevance.

The other crucial factor that determines how relevant something is to someone is how much time and energy he/she has to expend on it. If someone is willing to expend a great deal of time and energy to understand something, he/she must deem it very relevant. For example, having little background in communication theory, I had to read *Relevance: Cognition and context* (Sperber and Wilson 1986) several times before I felt I had understood it. The reason I was willing to expend so much time and effort was because it was crucial to this study, and therefore highly relevant to me. Humans instinctively try to keep the amount of effort they have to expend on something to a minimum. Therefore, the less effort it requires to process a stimulus, the more relevant people will deem it. This factor is referred to as *processing effort*.

Thus relevance is directly proportional to contextual effects and inversely proportional to processing effort. Because the interplay between those two factors determines the degree of relevance of any stimulus, Wilson and Sperber (1987:13) offer the following definition of relevance:

Relevance:

- (a) Other things being equal, the greater the contextual effects, the greater the relevance.
- (b) Other things being equal, the smaller the processing effort, the greater the relevance.

Since human communication is governed by relevance, every speaker guarantees that what he/she is trying to say is relevant to his/her audience—it is worth their attention. “He guarantees, in particular, that the information he is attempting to convey, when processed in a context he believes the audience has accessible, will be relevant enough to be worth the audience’s attention” (Wilson and Sperber 1987:13). This guarantee of relevance promises that (a) the information will produce adequate contextual effects and (b) the contextual effects will be produced for a reasonable amount of effort.

3.2.2. Other Important Aspects of Relevance Theory

Since the above description of relevance theory is in skeleton form, it is important to describe in a little more detail several specific aspects that have a direct bearing on translation.

The role of coding and decoding in communication. Coding and decoding processes *do* play a role in inferential communication, but they only make up one aspect of it; they do not

account for the entire communication process. Although verbal communication does make use of a code, “it does not follow that the whole process must be accounted for in terms of the code model” (Sperber and Wilson 1986:27). The linguistically encoded content of a speaker’s utterance does not fully communicate his/her informative intention until it is contextually enriched. The encoded part of the message provides strong evidence from which the audience can infer the speaker’s informative intention. Encoding linguistic data is a means of providing a stimulus, a communicative clue. After the encoded information has been decoded, it still needs to be inferentially enriched before it will yield the speaker’s intended meaning. “In other words, a coding-decoding process is subservient to a[n] ... inferential process” (Sperber and Wilson 1986:27).

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With reference to Bible translation, two far-reaching implications emerge from making coding-decoding processes subservient to inferential processes. Since coding-decoding processes *are only part* of the communication act, any attempt to convey the entire message of the Bible by means of linguistic coding is doomed to failure. This, as I shall argue later, is the fundamental weakness of functional equivalence. However, since coding-decoding processes *are indeed part* of the communication act, descriptive-classificatory methods of analysing linguistic codes continue to have value for translators. Their main value, though, is more as guides to exegesis than to translation—they help translators to analyse the meaning of the source text; they do not “tell them” how to render that text.

Semantic representations, assumption schemas, and propositional forms. Relevance theory assumes that there is a part of the human brain that specialises in decoding linguistic stimuli. On the basis of their linguistic properties, it “assigns to them mental formulae that ‘mean’ or ‘represent’ something” (Gutt 1991:24); these mental images are called *semantic representations*. The semantic representations that are drawn from a speaker’s utterance are not identical to the thought he/she is trying to convey; they do, however, function as clues that lead hearers to retrieving that thought. They are not the meaning; they are clues to it. Gutt (1991:24) refers to the part of the meaning that is retrieved from the linguistic data as “assumption schemas” or “blueprints for propositions.”

Assumption schemas that are produced by the language module of the mind when it processes language data function as clues to the speaker’s meaning *in a given context*. In themselves they are only partially true to reality, usually because they are potentially ambiguous. However, when they are inferentially enriched by the speaker-intended context, they become “fully truth conditional” (Gutt 1991:24), that is, fully representative of the

speaker's meaning, his/her view of reality. This completed form is called a *propositional form*.

Thus the relationship between code, context, and communication is clear. In any act of verbal communication, linguistic coding (grammar) determines the range of possible meanings that an utterance can have, while context specifies which one of those meanings it actually does have. As we shall see later, this allows translators two ways of translating: (a) focussing on assumption schemas or (b) focussing on propositional forms. In (a) they can focus solely on translating the linguistic aspects of the source, thus providing receptors a range of potential meanings and leaving it for the original context to inform them of the correct one. In (b) they focus on the whole meaning conveyed by the original and try to transfer a "fully truth conditional" form into the receptor language.

Descriptive and interpretive use of language. Relevance theory divides utterances into two classes—descriptive use and interpretive use—depending on how they are used by the communicator. In descriptive use, (a) the thought belongs to the speaker and (b) the speaker intends it to accurately represent reality. In interpretive use, (a) the thought belongs (originally) to someone other than the speaker and (b) the speaker intends his/her utterance to accurately represent the original thought. Someone speaking descriptively intends to be faithful to reality; someone speaking interpretively intends to be faithful to the meaning of the original speaker.

This distinction is of paramount importance for translation. Interpretive use is what distinguishes translation from non-translation. By definition a translator is someone who aims to represent someone else's thoughts in another language. This being the case, it is possible to analyse different types of translation as different types of interpretive use. Thus, just as there are different ways of using interpretive use intralingually, so there are different ways of using it interlingually.

Context as a psychological construct. Sperber and Wilson (1986:15), in contrast to most biblical scholars, define an utterance's context as the set of premises used to interpret it. Context does not refer primarily the external setting in which an utterance is made; context refers to the hearer's assumptions about the world, that is, to his/her *cognitive environment*. The external setting is an important factor in determining what contextual assumptions the hearer will use to interpret an utterance, but it is not the sole source from which the hearer can draw contextual assumptions. A person's whole cognitive environment "includes information that can be perceived in the physical environment, information that can be retrieved from memory, ... and information that can be inferred from these two sources" (Gutt 1991:26). In

many ways this is a sensible way of defining context for it is not the external setting itself that influences utterance interpretation, but the hearer's awareness of it. If and only if the utterance brings a piece of contextual information to mind will that information influence the interpretation of the utterance.

If the context is a set of assumptions in the hearer's mind rather than a set of circumstances in his/her environment, then it follows that the context is not given but chosen.³⁷ When confronted with an utterance, a hearer usually has a wide range of contextual assumptions that he/she can use to interpret it. Potentially, he/she can use any information already present in the environment or in memory, or any that can be inferred from either of those sources. The question is, "How does he/she determine (select) that actual context from the range of potential contexts?" Sperber and Wilson's (1986:141) answer— "the selection of a particular context is determined by the search for relevance." The human mind instinctively searches for the contextual information that maximises the relevance of an utterance and uses that information to interpret the utterance.

This is not to suggest that hearers can randomly select absolutely any set contextual assumptions that maximise relevance. That would lead to chaos. Sperber and Wilson qualify context selection as follows:

For each item of new information, many different sets of assumptions from diverse sources (long-term memory, short-term memory, perception) might be selected as context. However, this is not to say that any arbitrary subset of the total set of assumptions available to the organism might become a context. *The organisation of the individual's encyclopaedic memory, and the mental activity in which he is engaged, limit the class of potential contexts from which an actual context can be chosen at any given time* (1986:137, italics added).

What this implies is that people's minds are organised in such a way that certain assumptions are more readily accessible to them than others. For example, their immediate environment and their knowledge of and relationship with the speaker limit the range of contexts that are accessible in a given communication situation.

Two points need to be made in concerning relevance theory's understanding of context. Firstly, although this psychological definition of context makes good sense in direct communication situations, it is of little value for biblical studies. We are so far removed from

³⁷ See Sperber and Wilson (1986:132-143) for a full discussion of the case for context being chosen rather than given.

the original situation that the only aspect of the original context we can even hope to reconstruct is the external context. So while relevance theory's definition may prove helpful when constructing the receptor text, it makes little difference (as compared with the more traditional view of context) to the interpretation of the source text.

Secondly, whereas the original audience may have selected from the range of possible contexts the one which produces maximum contextual effects, the same approach cannot be applied by modern readers. We cannot select from the range of possible reconstructions the one which would cause the text to yield maximum contextual effects. Our reconstructions are limited to macro-level external aspects of context; these aspects were not part of the "selected context"; they were part of the "given context," the external environment shared by author and audience. Context selection only operates within the parameters set by external context.

Explicatures and implicatures. Relevance theory distinguishes between two types of assumptions a communicator can convey: explicatures and implicatures. Explicatures include all assumptions linguistically encoded in an utterance, whether such encoding is explicit or implicit. They are derived from the linguistic properties (lexical and grammatical) of the utterance. Sometimes the grammar of a language allows certain features to be omitted because they are implied in the context (spoken language) or the co-text (written language). Such features are regarded as part of the linguistic properties of the text and are thus regarded as explicatures. Implicatures, on the other hand, are those assumptions which are not part of the utterance itself but are intended by the speaker to be inferred from the context. "Implicatures include all assumptions [intentionally] communicated by an utterance that are not explicatures" (Kandolf 1993:36). Essentially this is the difference between what can be inferred from the linguistic content of an utterance (its explicatures) and what can be inferred only from the external context (its implicatures).³⁸ The communicator's intended *meaning* consists of *the sum of the explicatures and implicatures* conveyed by his/her utterance.

The seriousness of the implications this has for Bible translation can scarcely be overstated. If meaning includes implicatures and implicatures are context-dependent, is it possible to translate meaning cross-culturally?

Logical, encyclopaedic, and lexical entries. Relevance theory makes certain assumptions about concepts; these assumptions provide the framework for understanding how

³⁸ According to Kandolf (1993:35-36), "Explicatures can be derived using only the information linguistically encoded in the utterance plus the information available in the context." The context she has in mind here is the co-text, that is, information linguistically implied in the co-text contributes to the explicatures. However, any contextual assumption inferred from outside the text itself is an implicature.

words function (i.e. lexical semantics). According to Sperber and Wilson (1986:86), the human mind stores three different types of information with reference to every concept it holds. These are viewed as three entries: (a) the logical entry, (b) the encyclopaedic entry, and (c) the lexical entry.

The logical entry denotes the set of properties that define the concept;³⁹ that is, the minimum set of properties that are essential to that concept. For example, the set of properties essential to the concept *mother* are 'female' and 'parent' (Sperber and Wilson 1986:86). The logical entry for a given concept is fixed (it cannot change) and context-independent (the same for all cultures).

"By contrast, the encyclopaedic entry contains all sorts of information that is incidental to the concept" (Gutt 2000:142). Beyond their core properties, concepts often evoke a whole range of assumptions in people's minds; these are called assumption schemas. The assumption schema attached to a concept includes all the assumptions which the concept conjures up in someone's mind that are not included in the logical entry. The concept *mother* may conjure up images of self-sacrificing love, cooking, sewing, and cleaning house. The encyclopaedic entry is flexible (subject to change) and context-dependent (varies from culture to culture or even from individual to individual).

Finally, the lexical entry is the word used to depict the concept. The concept 'mother' is depicted in English by the word *mother*, in Afrikaans by *moeder*, and in Greek by μήτηρ.

Thus the distinction between logical and encyclopaedic entries corresponds roughly to the traditional distinction between the denotative and connotative meanings of words and to "the distinction between the content and context of an utterance" (Gutt 2000:142). This distinction is significant for translation because it has implications for the way words function in a discourse. A given word may evoke a whole assumption schema within the original context; often the receptor language has a word with an equivalent logical entry, but none with an equivalent encyclopaedic one.

*Literal and figurative language.*⁴⁰ Relevance theory allows for a simple explanation of figurative language (cf. Sperber and Wilson 1986:231-237). Their account is based on the earlier argument that the propositional form of an utterance (its literal semantic meaning) is

³⁹ Sperber and Wilson's (1986:86) definition is more complex. They explain, "The logical entry for a concept consists of a set of deductive rules which apply to logical forms of which that concept is a constituent.... A logical entry consists of a set of deductive rules, each formally describing a set of input and output assumptions: that is, a set of premises and conclusions."

⁴⁰ For a thorough analysis of how metaphorical language is analysed in a relevance theoretic framework, see Goatly 1997.

not identical with the thought it conveys; it merely interpretively resembles that thought.

There is a gap between the proposition form and the thought conveyed.

The larger the gap between the proposition expressed and the meaning intended, the more metaphorical the utterance will be. The smaller the gap, the more literal the language use (Goatly 1997:15).

In other words, the more closely the logical properties of an utterance interpretively resemble those of the thought, that is, the more properties they share, the more literal the language.

Thus literal and figurative language differ only in the degree to which the propositional form of an utterance resembles the speaker's thought. Almost all language is metaphorical to some degree, but some utterances are more metaphorical than others.

As always, increase in the figurativeness of an utterance "must be offset by some increase in contextual effects" (Sperber and Wilson 1986:235). This increase in contextual effects usually takes the form of a range of implicatures being weakly conveyed; the more figurative an expression, the wider the range of implicatures it is likely to convey.

Simultaneously, as language becomes more figurative, so the hearers have to take more responsibility for constructing the implicatures. Therefore, "a good creative metaphor is precisely one in which a variety of contextual effects can be retained and understood as weakly implicated by the speaker" (Sperber and Wilson 1986:236).

This has enormous significance for Bible translation. While some metaphors are used to convey only a single implicature, others are intended by the author to convey a wider range of implicatures. Only metaphors that are intended to convey a single implicature can be explicated without losing contextual effects. If a metaphor is intended to convey a range of implicatures, any attempt to explicate it will convey one of those implicatures at the expense of the others.

3.3. The Impact of Relevance Theory on Bible Translation

Relevance theory has far-reaching implications for Bible translation theory. Functional equivalence has been the dominant Bible translation theory for the past 35 years. However, relevance theory exposes its foundational assumption as false; therefore, its main aim becomes unattainable. The assumption in question is that a given message can be communicated successfully to any audience provided the correct form of expression is found. Functional equivalence takes the communicability of the message for granted. As a result, it views the real problem for a translator as finding the right way of expressing the message in the receptor language.

This assumption is false because there is a “causal interdependence between stimulus, context and interpretation” (Gutt 1991:171). Meaning resides in the interaction between stimulus and context. Changing either the stimulus or the context will alter the meaning. Even if a translation reproduces the original stimulus perfectly, its readers may not interpret it the same way because they use different contextual information to derive their interpretation. The meaning of an utterance—the set of assumptions (explicatures plus implicatures) it communicates—is highly context-dependent. There is a gap between the semantic content of the biblical text and the message that text communicates, a gap that can only be bridged by reading it with the original author-intended context in mind. Communicating the same message in a different context is not always possible, regardless of how it is expressed. Since human communication works by inference, which is context-dependent, a change in the context in which an utterance is interpreted limits the communicability of its content. When the shift in context is large, as it usually is when an ancient text is translated for a modern audience, those limits may be drastic.

So the foundational premise of functional equivalence is faulty, and, as a result, its goal—conveying the meaning of the original in such a way that it will be spontaneously intelligible to any reader regardless of how much his/her sociocultural context differs from that of the biblical text—is not achievable. If communication were merely a matter of coding and decoding messages, functional equivalence would rest on a sound theoretical foundation. The challenge that relevance theory poses to the code model, however, forces us to reassess the translation approaches we use, especially with regard to their suitability for Bible translation. But before turning our attention to relevance theoretic approaches to translation, let us briefly consider a third model of communication.

3.4. The Alternative to Relevance Theory

Having argued that relevance theory has superseded the code model as an explanation of human communication, one has to ask whether there are any other communication theories that may supersede relevance theory. Obviously, if another approach supersedes relevance theory, then it would be preferable to analyse translation in terms of *its* implications.

To the best of my knowledge there is only one other possibility—the interactional model. First I shall briefly examine a couple of the most significant aspects of the interactional model as presented by Deborah Schiffrin (1994:397-405). Then I shall consider whether or not it provides a better framework for understanding Bible translation than relevance theory does.

Schiffrin (1994:397-98) begins her description of the interactional model with this insightful overview:

The interactional model of communication shifts our view of participant roles (the communicator and the recipient, the message and the medium); it also places less stress on the principle of intersubjectivity. Put most simply, this model assumes that what underlies communication is behavior—regardless of whether that behavior is intentional or not.

This introduction raises a couple of points that are of interest to this study. Let us briefly explore them, noting especially the differences between the inferential and interactional models.

The inferential⁴¹ and interactional models both regard communication as a function of human behaviour. The crucial difference concerns the role played by the communicator's intentions. According to relevance theory, a communicator produces a stimulus, verbal or non-verbal, from which he/she expects the recipient to infer his/her informative intention. Such stimulus production is a particular form of behaviour—intentional behaviour. The interactional model accepts this analysis, but claims that the study of communication cannot be restricted to cases of intentional behaviour. The way that people behave even when not intending to communicate does in fact communicate information to those who interact with them; their behaviour "gives off" information. Therefore, an adequate explanation of communication must account for both intentional and unintentional communication. Although relevance theory may be an accurate account of communication, it is not an adequate account because it only accounts for intentional communication.

A natural corollary of focusing less on intentional behaviour and more on unintentional behaviour is emphasising the responsibility of the recipient in determining the significance of communicative behaviour. Obviously people who are not aware *that* they are communicating cannot be expected to be aware of *what* they are communicating; they cannot be the determiners of the meaning of their behaviour. This means that as the role of the communicator becomes more passive, the role of the recipient becomes more active. In the case of unintentional behaviour the onus falls on the recipient (observer) to decide what the communicator's (actor's) situated behaviour means. "The goal of [unintentional] communication is recipient achievement of an interpretation of displayed behavior" (Schiffrin 1994:401).

⁴¹ Relevance theory is a sub-category of the inferential model.

I believe that relevance theory provides the best account of how intentional communication works. The interactional model picks up where relevance theory leaves off, providing a sensible explanation of how unintentional communication works.

In reality, almost every act of communication conveys a mixture of intended and unintended information. The meaning of the intentional information is determined by the communicator's informative intention. Using the principle of relevance, the recipients can infer the communicator's meaning from the stimuli the he/she produces. However, the way the communicator behaves during the act of communication may simultaneously convey unintended information. The responsibility for identifying and interpreting such situated behaviour falls on the recipient. In deliberate communication, priority should be given to the information conveyed intentionally. Information conveyed unintentionally can only be meaningfully understood once the intentional information is clearly understood. This does not mean that the latter is qualitatively more important, but it does mean that the latter provides the necessary framework for understanding the former.

The crucial question is whether or not the interactional model provides a better framework for understanding and practicing translation than relevance theory. The answer seems to lie in the nature of written communication. Written communication is primarily intentional communication. The primary meaning of a text consists of the set of assumptions the original author intended to convey to his/her audience. This does not mean that the author-intended meaning exhausts the meaning of a text. Authors often unconsciously embed nuances of meaning in a text that can provide an astute reader with insights that the author did not intend to convey. It does mean that the author-intended meaning is the primary meaning of a text which must be understood before one searches for hidden nuances. Certainly, the first task of a Bible translation is to convey to the receptor audience the set of assumptions the original text was designed to convey to its audience. If clues to hidden levels of meaning beyond what the author intended to convey can also be captured, then it should by all means be done, but not at the expense of the author-intended meaning. Since relevance theory provides the best available account of intentional communication, it also provides the best framework for understanding and practicing translation.

4. Relevance Theoretic Approaches to Translation

Gutt (2000:202-203) clearly distinguishes between *accounts of translation* and *approaches to translation*. His primary interest lies in giving an account of translation that explains how translation works. In doing so, he outlines two approaches to translation—direct

and indirect—but does not attempt to work out the details of how each approaches translation. In this section I shall build upon the foundation Gutt (1991 and 2000) laid with respect to each of these approaches and try to explain in greater detail how each works.

Within a relevance theoretic framework, translation is analysed as a special kind of interpretive use—interlingual interpretive use. The translator presents the translation not as an original text but as a faithful representation of another text. This being the case, translation can be accounted for as a subtype of interpretive use. Intralingual interpretive use can take either of two different forms, namely, indirect quotation or direct quotation. In indirect quotation a speaker presents his statement as an approximation of what his/her source said; such approximation usually takes the form of a paraphrase, which is presented as being faithful to the meaning of the source in respects relevant to the needs or interests of the hearer. By contrast, in direct quotation the speaker presents his/her statement as an exact reproduction of the very words of the source. Gutt (2000) argues that since translation is communication based on interpretive use, these same two kinds of interpretive use must also apply interlingually. Logically, therefore, there must be two kinds of translation, indirect and direct.

4.1. Description of Relevance Theoretic Approaches

4.1.1. Indirect Translation

Indirect translation is the interlingual equivalent of indirect quotation. It purports to remain faithful to the *essence* of the original without making any claim of adhering to its form or conveying the entirety of its meaning.

4.1.1.1. Implications of Indirect Translation

(1) *An indirect translation interpretively resembles the original.* According to relevance theory, a communicator can use language descriptively or interpretively (see p. 39). Using the distinction between descriptive and interpretive use of language as his theoretical framework, Gutt (1991) divides translations into two main categories. A “translation” based on descriptive use need not be bound by its source. It is in effect an original document communicating the “translator’s” own ideas; it uses its source as merely a guideline or a source of ideas.⁴² By contrast, a translation based on interpretive use purports to be a faithful representation of the original act of communication.

⁴² Gutt argues that since such translations actually represent the translator’s own ideas rather than those of the source text, they are not translations in the true sense, and thus need not be covered in a general theory of translation.

The essence of interpretive use lies in producing an utterance that accurately represents the thought conveyed by another utterance. Such an utterance is said to *interpretively resemble* its source. Interpretive resemblance between utterances can be defined as follows: Two utterances interpretively resemble each other if and only if they give rise to the same interpretation, that is, if they enable hearers of both the original and its interpretation to recover the same set of assumptions. This means that the explicatures and implicatures communicated by the restatement must correspond to those communicated by the original statement.

The critical question then becomes, “To what extent must the set of assumptions conveyed by the interpretive utterance correspond to those of the original utterance in order for it to be regarded as interpretive use?” There is no concrete, quantitative yardstick by which to measure the degree of resemblance and thereby determine whether or not two statements interpretively resemble each other. Only two conditions are required for interpretive resemblance to occur. Firstly, one statement must be presented as resembling another.⁴³ Secondly, the content of the second statement must be a *valid subset*, large or small, of the assumptions conveyed by the first. It does not have to convey all the original assumptions, but those it conveys must be true to the meaning of the original. Ultimately the degree of resemblance will be “determined by considerations of relevance, and specifically by my [the communicator’s] assumptions about what my communication partner might find optimally relevant” (Gutt 2000:106). For example, when relaying the contents of a sermon to a friend who missed the service, I would explain only the points that I deemed to be relevant to him/her. I would feel free to expand or summarise so long as by doing so I was not distorting the preacher’s meaning. My explanation qualifies as interpretive use provided I present it as a faithful (though incomplete) portrayal of what the preacher said.

Thus the degree to which a translation is required to interpretively resemble the original is determined by the expectations of the receptors, that is, what aspects they regard as being relevant to them. In the case of sacred texts like the Bible, receptor expectations tend to be high; most Bible readers assume that everything in the Bible is somehow relevant to them.⁴⁴ Consequently they expect a Bible translation to maintain the highest possible degree of

⁴³ Gutt (2000:208-211) argues persuasively to the effect that interpretive use is determined by the speaker’s intention to report another person’s statement rather than by any correspondence relations between the two utterances.

⁴⁴ This is the logical consequence of believing that the Bible is the word of God.

interpretive resemblance. The set of assumptions communicated by the translation, although only a subset, should be the largest possible subset of those communicated by the original.

Two generalisations can now be made about an *ideal* indirect Bible translation. *Firstly, it remains as close as possible to the content of its source.* Since the translators are not communicating their own message but that of their source *and* their readers expect them to remain as close as possible to the explicit content that message, they are not free to change, add to, or subtract from the macro-level content of the original. Changing, adding, and subtracting is acceptable on the micro-level of formal elements, but these are permitted so as to allow the whole message to be as faithful as possible to the meaning of its source. An indirect translation should not change, add to, or subtract from the set of assumptions the original conveyed to its audience. Gutt (1991:95) puts it this way: “The sum total of the explicatures and implicatures of the translation must equal the sum total of the explicatures and implicatures of the original.”⁴⁵ This requirement is not a direct product of interpretive use itself, but of interpretive use as constrained by an audience that believes everything in the original text is relevant to them.

Secondly, it must lead to the same interpretation as its source. This follows as the logical result of faithfully communicating the content of the source. Therefore, it can be used as a means of testing the effectiveness of an indirect translation. Indirect translation aims to produce immediate contextual effects (to make the message spontaneously intelligible to the receptors). The way of evaluating such a translation is by whether or not the meaning that is spontaneously intelligible to its readers is faithful to the meaning of the original. In a relevance theoretic framework, the effectiveness of a translation is based “on the comparison of interpretations” (Gutt 2000:233) rather than on any equivalence based relations between source and translated text (Gutt 1996:252). Thus relevance theory, with its notion of interpretive resemblance, provides a simple but effective means of evaluating translations.

Describing a comparison of interpretations as an easy means of evaluating translations may seem too simplistic since we cannot measure the effect the text had on its original audience. However, a translation should not be measured against the original audience’s interpretation. It should be measured against a modern reader’s interpretation of the Greek text in the light of the best available reconstruction of the original context. Once they have

⁴⁵ Gutt (1991:94) explains his rationale as follows: “... the intended interpretation of an utterance consists of its explicatures and/or implicatures. Thus to say that a translation should communicate the same interpretation as that intended in the original means that it should convey to the receptors *all and only those explicatures and implicatures that the original was intended to convey.*”

interpreted the original text, one question should guide translators' formulation and evaluation of a translated text: "Will our readers be able to derive from our translation the same interpretation that we were able to derive from the original?" Comparing the probable interpretation of receptor audience with the actual interpretation of the original readers leads to highly speculative results because their actual interpretation cannot be known with certainty. However, comparing the probable interpretation of the receptor audience (from the translation) with the actual interpretation of the translators (from the original) should lead to accurate results,⁴⁶ and is considerably simpler than evaluations employing standards of text-based equivalence.

(2) *An indirect translation is based on the principle of relevance.* According to the principle of relevance, every communicative act promises to produce "an adequate range of contextual effects" and to do so "for the minimum justifiable processing effort" (Wilson and Sperber 1987:14). A translation based on the principle of relevance seeks to furnish readers with "immediate cognitive effects" (Winckler and Van der Merwe 1993:55). To produce "immediate cognitive effects" is to make the meaning of the text as spontaneously clear as possible. Since inferential communication is context-dependent, this means that receptor language readers can assume that, when interpreted in the first context to which they have access (their own), the first interpretation they find that is consistent with the principle of relevance is the author's intended meaning.⁴⁷

Gutt (1991:101) argues that "the principle of relevance heavily constrains the translation with regard to both what it is intended to convey and how it is expressed." In practice this implies that translators must find a way of expressing the content of the original that will yield comparable contextual effects when interpreted in the receptor language context as the original did in the original context. At the same time, they must make the message easy for readers to understand. Thus the principle of relevance encompasses all the translation objectives advocated by functional equivalence. The need to keep processing effort to a minimum calls for naturalness of expression and ease of understanding. Similarly, producing the same contextual effects corresponds to Nida's contention that a translation should produce the same response in its receptors as the original was intended to produce in its readers.

⁴⁶ The accuracy of such comparisons depends entirely on how accurately translators assess the cognitive environment of their target readers. If they make wrong assumptions about their readers, their formulation and evaluation of the translated text will be flawed.

⁴⁷ In the context of translation, speaking of "the author" has a dual reference, first to the original author, but also to the translator. The original author's meaning is mediated to receptor language readers through the translator. What receptors can infer is the original author's set of assumptions *as understood by the translator*.

Following the principle of relevance has two important implications for Bible translators. Firstly, it eliminates the need to *depend* upon complex descriptive-classificatory schemes to guide translation decisions. The way these classificatory schemes work is that they try to identify every eventuality that translators could encounter. They provide translators hierarchical classifications that suggest how various eventualities should be handled. Thus, when confronted with a particular phenomenon, translators can look it up in the relevant classificatory grouping and find guidance on how to handle it in translation. Functional equivalence relies heavily on such schemes to provide guidance when making translation decisions. The problem with this approach is that a given phenomenon often falls into more than one category, resulting in conflicting suggestions. The principle of relevance provides a basis for resolving such problems. Careful examination of the various classificatory schemes shows that they are basically specific applications of the principle of relevance in given contexts. The principle of relevance serves as an overarching translation principle that directs the use and application of the classificatory schemes. Therefore, indirect translation relies not on numerous classificatory lists, but on one all-encompassing translation principle: “do whatever is consistent with the principle of relevance” (Gutt 1991:118).

Secondly, it determines in what respects a translation should resemble its source, namely, “only in those respects that can be expected to make it adequately relevant to the receptor language audience” (Gutt 1991:102). One point on which advocates of functional equivalence differ is in what respects a translation should be equivalent to the original in order to be regarded as a faithful translation. Since both approaches—functional equivalence and indirect translation—aim to produce a translation that communicates spontaneously with its receptors, relevance theory provides the answer. The key word in effective communication is *relevance*. Therefore, a faithful translation should resemble the original in *relevant respects*.⁴⁸

This does not imply that the nature of the receptor audience determines the content of the message conveyed in the translated text. The set of assumptions an indirect translation seeks to convey has both objective and subjective qualities. Objectively, it is controlled by the meaning intended by the original communicator. The translation must faithfully represent the explicatures and implicatures of the original. However, due to contextual differences it may not be possible to convey *all* these explicatures and implicatures. In such cases translators

⁴⁸ What respects are relevant may well be genre-dependent. In the Pauline epistles, following the argument is usually crucial. In the Psalms, experiencing the aesthetic beauty of the Psalm as a whole may be more important.

should try to convey those that are most relevant to their readers (Gutt 2000:105-107). This is the subjective side. Ultimately the content of the translation is controlled not by the receptors, but by the source text.⁴⁹

(3) *An indirect translation presumes the receptor language context.* Winckler and Van der Merwe (1993:53) regard this as the distinguishing characteristic of an indirect translation. They suggest the following definition:

[A]n indirect translation is a receptor language text which the translator intends to be interpreted in the context envisaged (by him) *for the receptor language audience*, and his informative intention in making it is to communicate to the receptor language audience *as many as possible* of the assumptions communicated by the original in the originally envisaged context.

This differs in emphasis from Gutt's (1991 and 2000) formulation of indirect translation. For Gutt the defining characteristic of indirect translation is that it purports to interpretively resemble the original in relevant respects. Presuming the receptor context is implicit in Gutt's formulation because the readers of a translation will instinctively resort to the use of their own contextual environment when interpreting it and within that context will assume the first interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance to be the author-intended meaning. By making this aspect explicit, Winckler and Van der Merwe (1993) bring the third essential characteristic of indirect translation into focus. The three are (a) interpretive resemblance, (b) optimal relevance, and (c) receptor context. *An indirect translation can now be defined as a translation that purports to interpretively resemble the original in relevant respects in the receptor-language context.*

Three important points emerge from presuming the receptor language context. First the translators must try to anticipate what the receptors' cognitive environment is, and how it will affect the way they will interpret the translation. The accuracy of these assumptions, which are educated guesses, will affect the effectiveness of the final translation. Then the translators must assess the communicability of the message within the envisaged context. As I have already argued, (a) the interpretation of any utterance is context-dependent and (b) as a result, it is not true that any message can be communicated to any audience. Therefore, translators must consider whether or not there is a way of expressing the message in such a way that, when the receptors interpret it in their own context, they will be able to retrieve a sufficiently

⁴⁹ Translators should not change a communicable aspect of the meaning of the original simply because the receptors will not like it; this would distort the original communicator's intent and therefore violate the interpretive resemblance between source and translation.

large proportion of the original explicatures and implicatures to justify making an indirect translation. Last of all, the translators must accept responsibility for the bulk of the “communicative labour” (Winckler and Van der Merwe 1993:53). They must do everything possible to word the translation so as “to compensate for the shift in sociocultural setting from that of the original audience to that of the receptor (or target) audience.”

In summary, I have highlighted three main characteristics of indirect translation. Firstly, an indirect translation interpretively resembles its source. This implies that it is bound by the content of the source and should lead to the same interpretation as the source. Secondly, an indirect translation is based on the principle of relevance, which means it should communicate as much as possible as easily as possible. And thirdly, an indirect translation is intended to be interpreted using the receptor language’s contextual assumptions.

4.1.1.2. *Evaluation of Indirect Translation*

The notion of interpretive resemblance that undergirds indirect translation is extremely broad. It allows for a wide range of receptor language texts to be regarded as translations. The question must be asked as to whether such an approach has any value for Bible translation.⁵⁰ Gutt anticipates this problem with regard to his goal of providing a comprehensive account of *general* translation. He remarks that

... the very flexibility of this notion will no doubt be felt objectionable by some who would not feel comfortable in allowing summaries as well as elaborated versions to qualify as translation (2000:128).

He proposes that we have to look to direct translation to find an approach that “has to somehow stick to the explicit contents of the original” (2000:129).

Does this mean that indirect translation has no contribution to make to Bible translation? While I think Gutt would say yes, others would argue that it continues to have value (Van der Merwe 1999). There is one important contextual difference between Bible translation and most other instances of interpretive use: Bible readers expect translators to stay as close as possible to the explicit content of the original, keeping elaboration and summarisation to a minimum (Winckler and Van der Merwe 1993:44). Since audience expectations play a major role in constraining interpretive use, this expectation radically limits the range of texts that would be regarded as acceptable Bible translations. Those who

⁵⁰ The value of indirect translation for literary translation in general is scarcely questionable (see Gutt 1996; Sequeiros 1998). In the case of non-religious texts, the exact content of what the original text said is usually not considered of paramount importance to readers. Thus translators have more freedom in what they choose to convey.

regard the Bible as the word of God tend to regard all and only the assumptions of the original as being relevant to them; consequently, they expect translators to convey everything the original text did, nothing less and nothing more.

At first the audience expectation that a Bible translation must convey all and only the assumptions (explicatures plus implicatures) of the original appears to give indirect translation a lifeline as a Bible translation theory by constraining translators with respect to what they must and must not include. In other words, it narrows the scope of interpretive resemblance. However, it simultaneously raises a major problem: due to the context-dependent nature of communication, the shift from the source to the receptor context often makes retaining the meaning of the original impossible, even on the level of main points (cf. Gutt 2000, chap. 4). As Gutt emphatically states, “like any other form of human communication, *translation can only be expected to be successful when processed in the intended context*” (2000:230). Thus the very audience expectation that would provide for the control of indirect translation needs seems to eliminate it from contention.

The fate of indirect translation may well lie in another aspect of audience expectations. Often the same readers who expect a translation to retain all the assumptions of the original also expect it to produce immediate contextual effects, to spontaneously communicate those assumptions to them (cf. Van der Merwe 1999). Although in theory they regard all the assumptions as somehow relevant to them, in practice they are unwilling to expend the extra effort needed to process a translation in the context envisioned for the original. Whether they would be willing to admit it or not, such readers are open to a trade-off; they will sacrifice access to the full meaning of the original in order to make the points that remain more readily accessible. In relevance theoretic terms, their desire for maximum contextual effects is offset by their desire to keep processing effort low; hence, they will settle for less contextual effects more easily acquired.

Where does all this leave indirect translation as a Bible translation theory? The first point to note is that a purely indirect approach is ruled out by the fact that whole sections of the Bible are almost completely incommunicable in most modern contexts. For example, to be consistent with the principle of relevance an indirect translation would probably need to completely delete all the genealogies found in the Bible (many chapters of text). This would certainly be deemed unacceptable by most Bible readers. Thus a purely indirect translation is an utter impossibility and therefore a non-option.

The other crucial point to note is that

... the choice of a particular approach to translation, such as direct or indirect translation, is not theoretically significant; both kinds of translations are processed by the same principles of communication, the distinction between the two approaches is purely theory internal. This implies that there is no theoretical necessity for a translator to follow either of the two approaches consistently (Gutt 2000:200).

Therefore, there is nothing to prevent translators from producing a kind of hybrid approach that relies on indirect translation whenever the meaning of the original is deemed to be communicable in the receptor context, but resorts to direct translation when that meaning is not communicable. This satisfies both receptor expectations. It keeps processing effort as low as possible without disregarding their expectation that the translation retain at least all the main points of the original. In this hybrid form, indirect translation still has a contribution to make to Bible translation.

Gutt (2000:200) issues the following warning to translators who embrace such an approach: "What he has to remember, though, is that unexpected deviations from a given approach can lead to mismatches in the cognitive environment and are therefore likely to put communicative success at risk." The translation needs some way of warning the reader when it is switching to direct translation. The best method would be to provide contextual footnotes to warn readers that they need to use the supplied contextual information to interpret the text rather than using their own contextual assumptions. Such contextual notes would have to be kept to a minimum, a last resort used only when the major contextual implications of the original cannot be explicated in the text. This keeps processing effort to a minimum. When no contextual notes are provided, readers can safely use their own contextual assumptions to interpret the text and are entitled to assume that the first interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance is the correct interpretation; they need only expend extra effort when notes are provided.

This gives rise to another question: What implications does rejection of pure indirect translation in favour of an indirect-direct hybrid have for functional equivalence, given that functional equivalence is usually regarded as a sub-type of indirect translation? Functional equivalence is usually regarded as falling at the "literal" end of the spectrum of indirect translation. It is regarded as indirect translation because it aims for the spontaneous intelligibility of the message in the receptor context, and as literal because it expects translators to stick close to the explicit content of the original.

However, in spite of the fact that one of the founding premises of functional equivalence was that the receptor audience does not need to be familiar with original context to understand the message (cf. Genzler 1993:44-45), the method does not make the kind of major alterations that this premise requires if it is to be applied to large Bible translation problems. Thus in many instances, as Wendland (1997:87) frankly admits, functionally equivalent Bible translations still require their readers “to supply the contextual information necessary for understanding [a given] passage.” Whenever they can communicate the meaning of the original by altering the linguistic form or explicating implicit information, they do so. But when they cannot, they translate in such a way that the readers need to familiarise themselves with the original context. This implies that functional equivalence is not a true form of indirect translation, but rather a hybrid of indirect and direct translation.

If this is true, functional equivalence is all but synonymous with the indirect-direct hybrid approach advocated above. The difference is that the communicative framework provided by relevance theory gives this hybrid approach a few advantages over functional equivalence. Firstly, it forces translators to take the problem of communicability seriously; by consciously realising when a switch to direct translation is necessary they are able to take measures to prevent communication breakdowns. Secondly, it provides guidance with regard to how the translation should resemble the original, namely, in relevant respects. Thirdly, it eliminates the need for translators to depend on descriptive-classificatory systems. And finally, it provides a simple yet concrete criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of a translation, namely, by comparing the interpretations derived from reading the translation with those derived from reading the source.

Table 2. Comparison of Functional Equivalence and Indirect Translation

Functional Equivalence	Indirect Translation
Based on the code model of communication	Based on the inferential model of communication
Assumes communicability of message	Determines communicability of message
Uses descriptive-classificatory systems	Uses the principle of relevance
Values naturalness of expression	Values naturalness of expression
Uses various criteria for resemblance: content, receptor response, function.	Uses a single criterion for resemblance: relevance
Assumes receptor language context whenever possible	Assumes receptor language context whenever possible
Places interpretive burden primarily on translator	Places interpretive burden primarily on translator
Evaluated by comparing texts	Evaluated by comparing interpretations

4.1.2. Direct Translation

4.1.2.1. Foundation of Direct Translation

Direct translation is so named because it is to interlingual communication what direct quotation is to intralingual communication. Gutt (1991:126) argues that

... stimuli can be looked at from two different points of view. They can be looked at from the point of view of the cognitive effects they have—for example, what explicatures and/or implicatures they convey—but they can also be looked at from the point of view of the intrinsic properties they have as phenomena, and this is the perspective that seems relevant to direct quotation, for, as Wilson and Sperber (1988:137) state, “Direct quotations are chosen not for their propositional form but for their superficial linguistic properties.”

This two-fold way of viewing stimuli accounts for the difference between indirect and direct quotation, and by logical extension, also the difference between indirect and direct translation. Like indirect quotations, indirect translations “depend on resemblance in cognitive effects” (Gutt 1991:126); that is, they try to communicate the meaning of the original in such a way that it will make sense to the receptors in their own context. Conversely, like direct quotations, direct translations “depend on resemblance in linguistic properties”; that is, they try to reproduce the linguistic properties of the original stimulus. By reproducing linguistic

properties a direct translation does not aim to produce immediate cognitive effects, but to produce a text that will yield the same interpretation as the original if interpreted using the same contextual assumptions as the original.

The rationale behind trying to retain the linguistic properties of the original is also derived from direct quotation. Gutt (1991:161) explains that

... since they [direct quotations] preserve all the linguistic properties of the original, they give the audience the possibility of reconstructing for itself the meaning intended by the original author, provided it uses the contextual assumptions envisaged for the original communication act.

The same logic applies to translation. If a translation can preserve the linguistic properties of the original, then it enables a reader who reads it with the original contextual assumptions in mind to recover the originally intended.

While this sounds good in theory, it suffers from one major problem: no two languages have the same linguistic properties. Therefore, a translation cannot literally preserve the linguistic properties of its source. This is precisely the problem with formal equivalence. Stringently attempting to reproduce the linguistic form of the original results in a translation that is unnatural in the receptor language. Awkward linguistic structures in the receptor language make the translation difficult to understand *even if readers use the contextual assumptions envisioned for the original*.

If Gutt (1991:127) is correct that “the point of preserving stylistic properties lies not in their intrinsic value, but rather in the fact that they provide *clues* that guide the audience to the interpretation intended by the communicator,” the problem can be solved. The notion of *communicative clues* develops naturally from relevance theory. There is a gap between the information linguistically encoded in an utterance and the thought communicated by that utterance. When the human mind processes language data, it forms semantic representations. A semantic representation only yields the communicator’s intended meaning when it is inferentially (contextually) enriched. The linguistic data provides the audience with clues about the communicator’s informative intention. Thus the actual linguistic properties of an utterance have no value in themselves; their value lies in the communicative clues they provide. For translation, therefore, the crucial characteristic of the linguistic properties of the source text lies not in the properties themselves but in the communicative clues they provide for the readers. It follows that if a translation could reproduce all the communicative clues of the original and were read in the context envisaged for the original, then it would yield exactly the same interpretation as the original.

Preserving communicative clues enables Bible translators to retain what is essential about the form of the original language, namely, its clues to what the original author intended to communicate. At the same time, it does not force translators to reproduce grammatical structures that are foreign to the receptor language. This achieves good balance between literalness and naturalness. A translation can retain the original linguistic properties (functionally speaking) without being bound by foreign grammatical forms. Structures that were meaningful as clues to interpretation in Greek but are meaningless when transferred literally into English can be replaced with receptor language structures that provide the same communicative clues. If literally transferring a structural element does not aid an English reader to retrieve the same interpretation the original structure aided a Greek reader to infer, it cannot be regarded as a faithful translation.

In summary, direct translation defines translation along lines similar to direct quotation, except that structural differences between languages force translators to resort to retaining communicative clues rather than the actual linguistic properties. Basing translation on communicative clues implies two things: (a) the linguistic properties of the original, not its cognitive effects, are retained and (b) the linguistic properties are treated functionally rather than formally, that is, from the perspective of their communicative clues rather than their structural form.

4.1.2.2. Implications of Direct Translation

Defining translation in terms akin to direct quotation, with the proviso that the linguistic properties of the original are retained functionally (their communicative clues) rather than formally (their intrinsic properties), has several important implications. In this section I shall spell out some of these implications, especially those which Gutt does not make explicit.

(1) Direct translation treats the source text from the perspective of its linguistic properties. Sometimes the form of the original must be changed in order to preserve the communicative clues it provides; I called this treating the linguistic properties functionally. But does this emphasis on treating linguistic properties functionally not mean that direct translation does not *actually* preserve linguistic properties at all, but amounts in practice to roughly the same approach as functional equivalence?

Not at all. Direct translation *does* value the linguistic properties of the source text. Ideally, an interlingual equivalent of direct quotation would literally reproduce the original stimulus (utterance) by retaining all its intrinsic properties, but the only way to do so literally would be by resorting to a kind of “grammatical transliteration.” Such hyper-literalness has

been tried many times. It leads to an unreadable translation. Such gloss translations do not retain communicative clues because naturalness of expression forms part of the original text's communicative clues. As a result, it often proves impossible to retain the linguistic properties themselves *and* the communicative clue they provide. When and only when it is impossible to retain both intrinsic properties and communicative clues, direct translation gives priority to the latter and allows for changes in grammatical form. However, whenever practical,⁵¹ it *does* preserve the linguistic properties themselves, or to be more specific, grammatical transliterations of them. Allowance for grammatical changes is made as a necessary concession, not as an liberal invitation for translators to restructure the original.⁵² This is in sharp contrast to functional equivalence, which actively encourages translators to make any changes in form that will make a translation easier to understand (usually by making implicit information explicit). Thus, in its attitude toward linguistic form, direct translation lies closer to formal than to functional equivalence.

When changes in grammatical form are necessary, those required by a direct translation tend to be milder than those required by functional equivalence. For De Waard and Nida, translation is based on finding valid isomorphic relationships between languages. They argue that these are “essentially functional rather than formal” (1986:68). These functional isomorphs are seen as operating between one language-culture combination and another. Thus, if a given form conveys a particular message in the source language-culture setting, translators must find an equivalent form that conveys the same message (has the same function) in the receptor language-culture setting. This approach is consistent with the code model of communication, which allows for little separation between language and context because it views the pragmatic aspects of communication as part of a code known to the speakers of a given language.

To a large extent, relevance theory allows us to separate language from context. This is possible because, contrary to code model pragmatics, contextual implications are not part of the encoded message, but are derived from the context. The aspect of a language that is most closely related to its context is its vocabulary, the set of signs it uses to represent the world in

⁵¹ What is or is not practical is a subjective decision translators must make. The criteria they should use are derived from relevance theory: (a) Contextual effects—would retaining the original's form prevent readers from inferring the author-intended meaning? (b) Processing effort—would retaining the original's form require unjustifiable extra processing effort from readers? If the answer to *either* question is yes, a change in form is justified. It should, however, be born in mind that with reference to direct translation these must be asked with reference to interpretation of English linguistic stimuli in a first-century Greco-Roman contextual environment.

⁵² Even in the most literal of translations it is impossible to match grammatical components with complete consistency. Even formal equivalence has to allow for some grammatical flexibility.

which its speakers live. Terms have logical entries (core meanings) that are context-independent and encyclopaedic entries that are context-dependent (see pp. 39-41). When used in a given context, words evoke mental schemas that consist of an array of assumptions related to the entity they denote as perceived by those who live in that context. The peripheral components of a term's meaning (its encyclopaedic entry) are not part of the definition of the term itself, but implicatures drawn from the context in which it is used. The logical entry for ἀγορά and *mall* would be roughly the same, namely, a place where one can purchase goods. However, the encyclopaedic entries would be different because to a first century Greek speaker ἀγορά would conjure up images of an ancient market place, whereas to an English speaker *mall* conjures up images associated with modern shopping complexes. In other words, the encyclopaedic entry, which consists of an assumption schema associated with a term, is the result of the way people map that term to their experience of the world, their sociocultural context. If the encyclopaedic entry is context-dependent, then the linguistic component of a language's vocabulary consists only of the logical entry. Provided two languages have terms with equivalent logical entries, a direct translation can map receptor language words onto source language contexts in such a way that the encyclopaedic entry for the original concept is transferred to the receptor language term.

In many cases, the distinction between logical and encyclopaedic entries for concepts allows translators to distinguish between the linguistic and contextual components of the source utterance. Whereas functional equivalence treats the entire message functionally, trying to encode both the logical and encyclopaedic aspects of its meaning, direct translation only tries to encode the information present in its linguistic properties, that is, its logical entries. Since communicators do not encode their entire message, but only linguistic clues that have to be inferentially (contextually) enriched, a direct translation does not have to bridge both the linguistic and cultural gap. Consequently, it needs to make smaller adjustments in form to produce clear and natural clues to its meaning.

When working intralingually, it is almost always possible to distinguish between linguistic and contextual components of an utterance. However, when working interlingually the situation is not always clear-cut. What one language includes in its linguistic code another may leave to pragmatic inference. For example, sometimes the structure of the receptor language requires certain information to be supplied that the structure of the source language does not. Perhaps the receptor language requires the relative age of a sibling to be indicated, hence *younger brother* rather than simply *brother*, whereas the source language does not encode this information. What is happening here is that in the information structure of the

source language the indication of relative age is an implicature (contextual information), but in the receptor language it is an explicature (linguistic information). As a result, a one-to-one mapping of source and receptor language linguistic components is impossible. Even a direct translation has no option but to explicate some of the source text's implicatures. However, insofar as the information structures of the two languages are sufficiently similar to allow for it, a direct translation will only convey what is linguistically implicit in its source. This principle ensures that formal changes are kept to a minimum, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In summary, direct translation's functional approach to linguistic properties is quite far removed from that of functional equivalence. The latter treats the entire message functionally, but the former treats only its linguistic properties functionally. As a result, not only does it make less changes in form, but those it does make tend to be less radical in nature.

(2) *Direct translation requires translators to interpret the original correctly in order to translate it successfully.* How did a biblical text communicate its author's meaning to its original audience? The relevance theoretic explanation is that its linguistic properties functioned as stimuli that provided its readers with clues from which they could infer its author-intended meaning (i.e. his informative intention). Before they can reproduce equivalent receptor language communicative clues, translators must correctly identify the original's communicative clues. Since all communication, including the interpretation of the original biblical texts, is context-dependent, they must analyse the biblical text in its original context. "[A] thorough understanding of the original text is a necessary precondition for making a good translation" (Gutt 1991:164); therefore, Bible translation must be based on good exegesis. Ultimately, the quality of a direct translation depends upon how well the translator interprets the original.

This does, of course, make direct translation susceptible to the danger of interpretive error or bias. Formal equivalence minimises the need for interpretation by concentrating solely on the original's linguistic properties, resulting in a mechanical translation methodology that does not demand in depth exegesis of the source text. Although direct translation also concentrates on the source text, it focuses not on the linguistic properties themselves but on the communicative clues they provided in the original context. Since identifying communicative clues is an interpretive exercise, the resultant translation does run the risk of suffering at the hands of shoddy exegesis.

Therefore, Bible translators must also be biblical scholars capable of performing systematic biblical exegesis. To begin with, they must have a thorough knowledge of the original languages. Winckler and Van der Merwe (1993:54) explain why this is important:

Communicative clues may arise from a variety of linguistic sources.... Adequate interpretation of these communicative clues requires a thorough knowledge of the grammar, the text-grammar, the lexicon, the illocutionary conventions and the sociolinguistic conventions of the language concerned.⁵³

Furthermore, translators need to know “the sociocultural setting of the source text” (1993:55). Finally, they must have a thorough knowledge of the receptor language and culture.⁵⁴ Those translating into English need to know how to express themselves in English in such a way that their translation sends the same communicative clues to English readers as the original did to its readers.

(3) *Direct translation requires readers to use the original contextual assumptions in order to interpret it correctly.* This aspect is central to direct translation, as Winckler and Van der Merwe’s (1993:54) proposed definition shows:

A direct translation is a receptor language text which the translator intends the receptor audience to interpret in the context envisaged (by the original author) *for the original audience*. And in making a direct translation the translator has the informative intention to communicate to the receptor language audience *all* the assumptions communicated by the original in the context envisaged for the original.⁵⁵

The need to use the original context when interpreting a direct translation goes hand in hand with its focus on retaining the linguistic properties of the original. A direct quotation, because it preserves the linguistic properties of the original communication act, yields the same interpretation as the original if interpreted with the original context in mind. It follows

⁵³ Due to the mechanical nature of making gloss translations, those who prepare formally equivalent translations can get away with only a working knowledge of biblical Hebrew or Greek. All they need to do is match the linguistic form of the source text with the literal English construction suggested in introductory Hebrew or Greek grammars. For example, they may routinely render the Greek aorist participle with the English form *having* ... or the Greek genitive with English preposition *of*. When the translators’ job shifts from matching linguistic forms to identifying communicative clues, a much deeper grasp of the source language is needed.

⁵⁴ The need to be familiar with the receptor culture may seem strange in the light of the fact that direct translation presumes the readers will interpret the translation in the original context. Only by being familiar with the receptor culture will translators be able to anticipate ways in which their readers will misinterpret the translated text and take measures to prevent such misinterpretations.

⁵⁵ Gutt’s own definition is similar: “A receptor language text is a direct translation of a source language utterance if and only if it purports to interpretively resemble the original completely in the context envisaged for the original” (1991:163).

logically that if a direct translation preserves all the communicative clues of the source, it will “enable receptors to arrive at the intended interpretation of the original” if they use “the contextual assumptions envisaged for the original” (Gutt 1991:128).

Once made, this assumption gives direct translation a significant communicative advantage over indirect translation. The best an indirect translation can hope for “is to communicate ... *as many as possible* of the assumptions communicated by the original” (Winckler and Van der Merwe 1993:53). This is because contextual differences between the original audience and the receptor audience limit communicability. By translating for the context envisaged for the original, a direct translation can (in theory if not in practice) “communicate ... *all* the assumptions communicated by the original” (1993:54). In Gutt’s words, “it purports to interpretively resemble the original *completely* in the context envisaged for the original” (1991:163, italics added). If the translation assumes the same context as the original, then retaining communicative clues is synonymous with preserving the original interpretation (Gutt 1991:166).

If a translation can preserve all the communicative clues of the original, then readers who use the contextual assumptions envisaged for the original can reasonably expect that any explicatures or implicatures that they can infer by using that context were part of the original communication act. Gutt (1991:186) makes a case for this when he says,

The presumption of complete interpretive resemblance in direct translation gives the receptors important information about the informative intention of the communicator. It entitles them to consider all the explicatures and implicatures which they can recover with respect to the original context as having been part of the intended interpretation of the original.

This gives receptor language readers who read a direct translation with the original context in mind great confidence in the inferences they draw from it. Since most lay readers feel tentative about any inference they may draw, knowing that they can have confidence in them is of great value to them.

It should be noted that there is a crucial difference between formal equivalence and direct translation with respect to how they require readers to be familiar with the original context. Formal equivalence requires knowledge not only of the sociocultural context but also of the structure of the source language. Readers must be familiar with the way things were expressed in biblical Hebrew or Greek because they are expressed in the same form in such translations. Direct translation, on the other hand, only requires knowledge of the extra-linguistic context (i.e. the historical, social, and cultural contexts). Where Hebrew or Greek

have linguistic forms without an English parallel, a direct translation does not literally reproduce the linguistic form of the original; it does not resort to grammatical transliteration.

This issue of requiring the audience to be familiar with the original context raises three important questions. Firstly, how serious a problem is posed by our lack of contextual knowledge? Secondly, how feasible is the requirement itself? Finally, how can translators help readers become more familiar with the original context? Let us examine each of these questions in turn.

Question 1: How serious a problem is posed by our lack of contextual knowledge?

Every biblical scholar knows that even the best attempts to reconstruct the historical and sociocultural context underlying a biblical pericope are both tentative and limited. Does our limited knowledge of the original context of what we read in the Bible not seriously hamper direct translation? The answer is yes and no. Viewed absolutely, the answer is yes.

Communication is context-dependent. If, due to gaps in background knowledge, translators reconstruct the original context incorrectly, they will likely communicate the wrong contextual implicatures through their translation (especially if they provide their readers with the faulty reconstruction they themselves used). Since direct translation is dependent upon the translators' interpretation of the original, which is context-dependent, a direct translation *is* dependent on the accuracy of the assumptions the translators make about the original context.

Viewed relatively, however, these problems are no more serious for direct translation than for indirect. Verbal communication has two main components: a linguistic component and a contextual component. The correct interpretation is dependent upon the causal interaction between the two. An indirect translation depends on the translators' interpretation of the original, an interpretation made using incomplete knowledge. Similarly, a direct translation depends on the receptors' interpretation of the translation using the same limited knowledge (which the translators supply). In fact, even those who read the original biblical languages suffer from the same problem. Thus, while limited knowledge can seriously undermine interpretation, it does not seriously undermine any particular translation theory.

This issue of lack of background knowledge is more an exegetical problem than a translation problem. The test of a good translation is simply that it allows its readers to retrieve the same interpretation from it as they would if they could read the original text. A Bible translation should not be measured against the implicatures the original readers could retrieve, but against the implicatures a modern reader could retrieve by reading the original biblical texts. A translation achieves complete interpretive resemblance to the extent that its readers can arrive at the same interpretation as a *modern* reader of the original Hebrew or

Greek texts. If I as a reader can retrieve the same interpretation from a translation as I can from the Greek New Testament, albeit that my interpretation is faulty because I use the wrong contextual information, this would no more imply that the translation is a bad translation than it would imply that the Greek New Testament is a bad original text.

Question 2: How feasible is it to require modern readers to be familiar with the original context? This is a hermeneutical question. In the field of biblical hermeneutics a great deal of debate has taken place about whether the reading of a text should be author-oriented, text-oriented, or reader-oriented.⁵⁶ These approaches assume three different contextual worlds: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world of the reader. Although the older historical-critical methods assumed an author-oriented approach, the modern trend has been moving away from this to text-oriented approaches (and to a lesser extent to reader-oriented ones). This is particularly evident in hermeneutical approaches that apply linguistics to the Bible (literary criticism, rhetorical criticism, discourse analysis, structural analysis, deconstructionism); these assume that one can study the text itself without necessary recourse to the author-intended context. They assume that the meaning of the text lies within the text and the world created by the text; one need not understand the world behind the text in order to understand the text itself.

Relevance theory requires an author-centred approach to meaning. It assumes what Hirsch (1967 and 1976) and Kaiser (1981) tried to prove—that the primary meaning of a text is the one the original author intended to convey to his original readers. Gutt (2000:211-213) is surely correct that in verbal communication speakers or authors intend to communicate certain thoughts and hearers or readers initially aim at recovering the thoughts they assume the communicator is trying to convey. This does not imply that the author-intended meaning exhausts the meaning of the text, but it does imply that it is the logical starting point in the quest for meaning. Indeed, no author has complete awareness of his/her intentions, but any attempt to uncover finer, unintended nuances must follow a thorough understanding of what was intended.

Bible translators, even advocates of functional equivalence, generally agree that “[t]he role of the translator ... involves primarily communicating the intentions of the original author” (De Waard and Nida 1986:32). What sets relevance theory apart is that it regards knowledge of the original context as a prerequisite for discovering the author’s intent. Although it regards text-centred methods as helpful in recovering the author-intended

⁵⁶ For a succinct summary of the debate, see Dockery 1992:161-183.

meaning, it does not regard them as sufficient. Whereas a purely linguistic approach would suggest that one can fully appreciate the author-intended meaning by analysing the text and the world of the text, relevance theory requires that one also understand the world behind the text.

How feasible is it to require modern readers to be familiar with the original context? In Gutt's view it is perfectly feasible:

This point is not only common sense but well recognized in literary studies; one of the preconditions of authentic literary interpretation is a reconstruction of the historical, cultural and sociological background in which the piece of literature in question was written (2000:173).

A full understanding of any text includes both the assumptions the author intended to convey and the nuances he conveyed unintentionally. In translation pride of place goes to the author-intended meaning. Whenever possible translators should embed in the translation those nuances they deem to have been unintentionally embedded in the source text, but never at the expense of those intentionally conveyed. Within a theoretic framework any attempt to achieve complete interpretive resemblance *absolutely requires* the readers to be familiar with the original context. Readers might be able to retrieve many of the assumptions by studying the text itself and the world it creates, but some assumptions will not be retrievable without knowing the world behind the text.

Question 3: How can translators help readers to familiarise themselves with the original context? Gutt (1991) emphasises that a direct translation places the onus on the readers *to familiarise themselves* with the context envisaged for the original. The problem this poses for many Bible readers is that it dramatically increases the processing effort required to understand a direct translation correctly. Obtaining the information required would require large investments of time, effort, and money. This massive increase in processing effort makes a direct translation incompatible with the principle of relevance for all but a tiny minority of Bible readers who are willing to expend such effort. Even Van der Merwe's (1999) suggestion that a great deal of information is available to modern readers via the internet does not solve the problem. Many do not yet have easy access to the internet; many who do are overawed by it and afraid to search for information; for those who are not, such searches cost money and consume time. Furthermore, for those willing to search for background information, whether on the internet or in printed materials, there remains the danger that the information they find may be different to that used by the translators; such mismatches would result in unsuccessful communication.

How can translators make direct translations more accessible to a wider readership?

They have to take upon themselves the burden of providing their readers with the necessary background information. This would dramatically decrease the processing effort factor and thereby increase the number of potential readers.

How can this information be provided? The obvious answer is by means of explanatory notes. In the case of printed Bibles this poses another problem. If a large number of notes is required, as is likely to be the case, then this increases the cumbersomeness and costliness of the Bible. This might require separating the OT from the NT, but would have the advantage of keeping the notes together with the biblical text. Another possibility is releasing a companion volume that provides the background information used by the translators.⁵⁷ This would have the advantage of making the biblical text portable, but the disadvantage that the notes would not always be readily available. Although not perfect, either of these solutions would significantly reduce the strain placed on readers to familiarise themselves with the original context. It would also prevent mismatches since the translators could provide the very information they themselves used when making the translation.

Nevertheless, the real future of this kind of translation probably does lie, as Van der Merwe (1999) argues, in electronic media such as the internet and CD-ROM. For many readers this would be the most accessible, cost-efficient way of using a direct translation. Such media remove all space limitations, thereby allowing translators to supply as much information as they deem necessary.

Before turning our attention to what kind of notes such a translation should provide, let us quickly consider an existing attempt to make use of electronic media in this way, namely, the *New English Translation* (NET). Since the NET was specifically designed with the electronic media in mind and has as its most distinctive feature the inclusion of extensive accompanying notes, it provides a wonderful point of comparison for attempts to produce direct translations in electronic format.

The NET would be classified as an idiomatic (functional equivalence) translation, but within that genre of translation it would lie toward the literal end of the spectrum, somewhere near the NIV. It includes three kinds of notes: (a) text critical notes, (b) translators' notes, and (c) study notes. The translators' notes explain alternate renderings and justify the choice made, provide alternate renderings (often giving the more literal rendering), and discuss

⁵⁷ Something along the lines of the background commentaries by Keener (1993) and Walton and Matthews (1997) would be suitable. These are arranged by chapter and verse numbers, discussing whatever information is deemed relevant.

lexical, grammatical, and exegetical options. The study notes deal with less technical matters. Their most important functions are to provide historical and cultural background information, explain obscure phrases, discuss the immediate context, draw attention to the theological significance of the text and provide cross-references (including those to OT quotations or allusions). In short, the notes fulfil the role of a commentary, that is, they cover translation and interpretation issues.⁵⁸

By contrast, the notes that accompany a direct translation should be strictly limited to translation issues. One aim of a direct translation is to provide readers with a text that does not make them dependent upon the translators' interpretation; to place "the correct interpretation" in a footnote would defeat the purpose. The purpose of notes is to provide them with the information they need to draw their own inferences. The notes should not explain the implications of the text to them, but empower them to work out those implications for themselves. With this in mind, I propose a system with only two main categories.

Background notes. These expound on interpretation issues that are by nature text-external. They provide background information that lies outside the biblical text in the cognitive world of author and his original readers, namely, historical, cultural, social, and ideological information.

Translation notes. These expound on translation issues that are by nature text-internal, but they do not address interpretive issues. They can be divided into several subcategories. Firstly, lexical notes explain the assumption schema associate with key terms. Secondly, text-critical notes deal with major textual variants; these are limited to exegetically significant variants and explained in layman's terms.⁵⁹ Thirdly, cross-reference notes point readers to OT allusions and quotations or to information in the co-text that formed part of the original readers' cognitive environment.⁶⁰ Under no circumstances should these notes explain implications drawn from the co-text; that is exegesis, not translation.⁶¹ Fourthly, alternate-rendering notes alert readers to other ways the text could be translated. These could arise from stylistic concerns (simple alternatives that do not affect the meaning), grammatical

⁵⁸ This is not intended to be a criticism. Part of the purpose of the NET Bible is to provide Bible students and pastors who cannot afford commentaries with affordable access to high-quality study aids.

⁵⁹ Translators' notes should not increase processing effort by burdening readers with information they are ill-equipped to understand.

⁶⁰ This is what Evans (1997:139) calls "the text-generated component of the cognitive environment."

⁶¹ This is what distinguishes the notes supplied with a direct translation from those found in a study Bible. Whereas a study Bible may discuss the meaning of a passage, a direct translation should only provide its readers with the information they need to discover the meaning for themselves.

ambiguities (ambiguities that the structure of the source language does not enable the translation to retain), or lexical matters (other possible ways of translating a word or phrase, whether synonyms or not). Finally, miscellaneous-information notes cover any other information deemed relevant, such as quotes or allusions to extra-biblical sources, pointing out rhetorical devices that cannot be preserved in translation, and so on.

(4) Direct translation maintains a healthy balance between literalness and naturalness.

A direct translation is both literal and natural—literal in that it translates what was said rather than what was meant; natural in that it uses forms of expression that are natural in the receptor language. To many translators these appear to be opposites that cannot be combined in a single translation. Yet they both develop naturally from approaching translation from the perspective of communicative clues.

A direct translation is literal in that it sticks to the explicit content of the original. It does not add any extraneous material, such as culturally or contextually implicit information. Technically, it retains not the original's linguistic properties themselves (formal elements) but receptor language equivalents of them. However, it often happens that corresponding linguistic forms do provide the same communicative clues. When this happens, translators should retain formal correspondence, thereby making the translation as literal as possible. Furthermore, direct translation does not need to explicate implicatures. Because it presumes the same context as the original, what was left to inference in the original can be left to inference in the translation (cf. Gutt 1991:166). To a large extent this eliminates the need to expand upon the original, thus allowing translators to stay closer to what it actually says.

A direct translation is also natural. If the form of an expression is unnatural it does not provide a good communicative clue. Therefore, in order to provide the same communicative clues as the original, a translation must be as easy to understand as the original. Just as it did for the original communication, the principle of relevance also requires that the translation not place an unnecessary interpretive burden on its readers. Unless the form of the original was awkward in the source language, thus requiring extra processing effort, the form of the translation should be natural. The need to provide a natural receptor language clue allows translators to make structural changes that are *required* by structural differences between the source language and the receptor language. In other words, explicating contextual implicatures is "unnecessary and undesirable" (Gutt 1991:166), but making purely linguistic adjustments is part of providing clear receptor language communicative clues.

Direct translation keeps historical distance in cultural and historical matters. Distance must be maintained in these areas so that the translation will make sense when interpreted

with the original context in mind. It also maintains historical distance in the area of terminology. Since “semantics deals with the relationship of signs to referents” (Nida 1964:34), word meanings are culture-dependent—they denote referents in the world of the source document. Words referring to objects or concepts foreign to modern readers are retained because they make sense in the original context. On the other hand, direct translation does allow for the removal of historical distance in grammatical matters. Grammatical forms may be changed to suit the receptor language when this is necessary to preserve communicative clues or to reduce processing effort.

In practice, therefore, direct translation falls midway between formal and functional equivalence, combining many of the positive qualities of both to form a well balanced and theoretically sound approach to translation. It does not, however, represent an attempt to amalgamate formal and functional equivalence. Such a compromise would only produce an approach that is unsound in theory and practice. On the theory side, it would suffer from all the code model related drawbacks that undermine functional equivalence. On the practical side, it would retain the weaknesses rather than the strengths of each approach, being neither easily understandable nor consistently true to the form of the original.

As an outgrowth of relevance theory, direct translation is built on a firm theoretical foundation and has good reasons for retaining or rejecting specific elements from equivalence based theories. To speak of “retaining” or “rejecting” elements from other theories is, in fact, a misnomer. It developed independently of other theories. Once developed, it became apparent that it combined the best of both other theories, not because it borrowed from them, but because they co-incidentally happened to have certain elements that were consistent with relevance theory.

To sum up, direct translation maintains historical distance in the right places, thus enabling the translation to balance literalness and naturalness. Therefore, more than any other translation theory, it epitomises the adage, “As literal as possible; as free as necessary” (Metzger 1993b:282).

4.1.2.3. Evaluation of Direct Translation

In short, given the expectation of most Bible readers that a good Bible translation should convey all and only the assumptions conveyed by the original text, direct translation is the best available approach for communicating the explicit content of the original biblical texts to modern readers. I whole-heartedly agree with Winckler and Van der Merwe’s (1993:56) conclusion:

... we suggest that the technique of direct translation is the best available means for trying to meet both the need to be faithful to the original text of the Bible and the need to make the text of the Bible communicate successfully.

The two universal aims of any Bible translation are (a) faithfulness to the meaning of the original and (b) naturalness of expression in the receptor language. Direct translation balances these two aims exceptionally well. By presuming the original context it is able to remain as faithful as possible to the meaning of the original. Simultaneously, by presuming that the readers are using the receptor language in the original context it allows for complete naturalness of expression.

The problem with formal equivalence is that it uses unnatural and awkward ways of expressing things in the receptor language, a result of being too literal in its handling of grammatical issues. By recognising that the value of linguistic forms lies not in the forms themselves but in the way they provide communicative clues, direct translation is able to be literal in content without being unnatural in form.

The problem faced by functional equivalence (and indirect translation) is that the original message of the Bible is not always communicable in sociocultural contexts that differ vastly from those in which the original text was intended to be read. By requiring readers to interpret the translation in its original context direct translation is able to communicate almost all the assumptions of the original without needing to explicate contextual implicatures.

The only downside is that readers must expend extra effort to familiarise themselves with the original context. This is largely off-set by the fact that translators are encouraged to provide readers with the background information they need, thereby minimising the extra effort they have to expend. Simultaneously, since good reference works are simply not available in many languages and are extremely expensive in those language in which they are available, such translators' notes would provide church leaders and serious Bible readers with a wealth of information they would otherwise not have available. Furthermore, keying the information to the text to which it is relevant minimises the effort required to find it.

4.1.3. Integrating Direct and Indirect Translation

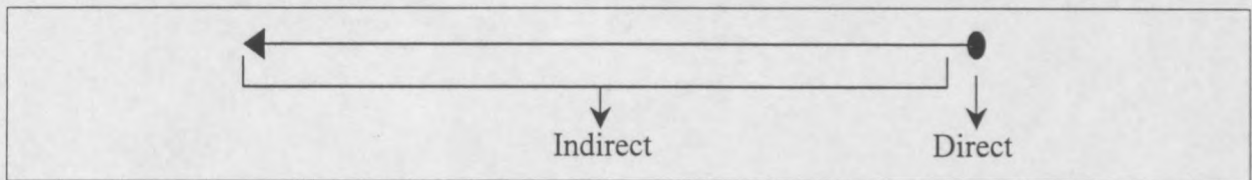
Having analysed two approaches to translation in isolation, let us briefly examine how they are related to one another. Are they bipolar opposites? Or are they definitions of "points on a continuum, with many translations, by force of linguistic and cultural constraints, somewhere in the middle" (Stephen Pattemore, personal communication)?

Gutt (2000:172) clearly states his view on the matter:

... interpretive resemblance is a graded notion that has complete resemblance as its limiting case: indirect translation covers most of the continuum, and direct translation picks up on the limiting case.

In order to be regarded as a translation, a text must purport to interpretively resemble its source to some degree. The degree of purported resemblance can either be complete or less than complete. Direct translation covers cases of translation that aim for complete interpretive resemblance; it represents a fixed point on one end of the continuum. Indirect translation covers all cases that aim for less than complete resemblance; it includes an infinite number of possibilities ranging from near complete to minimal resemblance.

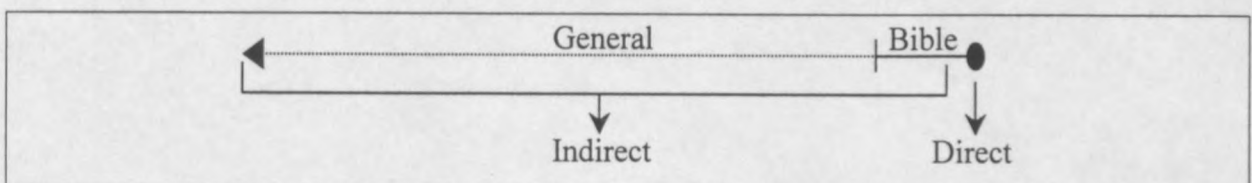
Diagram 1. General Translation: The Relationship between Direct and Indirect Translation in Terms of the Level of Interpretive Resemblance



As diagram 1 illustrates, there are exactly two ways of going about translation, either attempting complete resemblance or settling for partial resemblance. The former represents a fixed point on the continuum, but the latter ranges from a high degree of resemblance (towards the right) to a low degree of resemblance (towards the left).

Diagram 1 holds true for general translation. However, my real concern is specifically with Bible translation. In the case of Bible translation, audience expectations severely restrict the scope of indirect translation. Their expectations require the highest possible degree of resemblance. An indirect translation of the Bible would fall close to the extreme right of the indirect range of the continuum. This means that it is possible to imagine a definite left hand boundary on the continuum. This boundary would be determined by what is communicable in the receptor context; that is, an indirect translation of the Bible should not venture further left than is absolutely essential.

Diagram 2. Bible Translation: The Relationship between Direct and Indirect Translation in Terms of the Level of Interpretive Resemblance



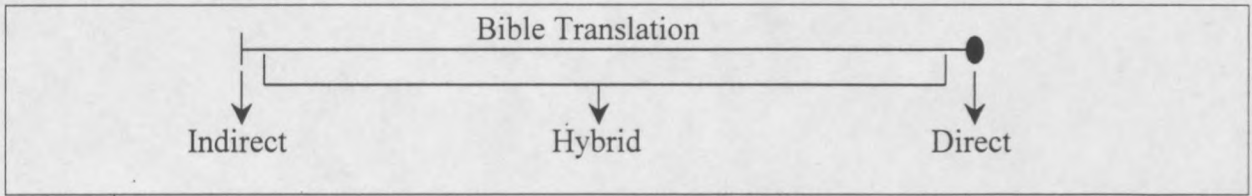
In diagram 2, the region of the continuum that demarcates direct translation has a thick black circle for its right boundary because that boundary is a definite, fixed point. By contrast, the left boundary is marked with a thin vertical line because it is at best a semi-fixed point. The degree of resemblance attainable in a receptor context varies from context to context and changes as the language and culture of the receptor audience changes, but it is constant insofar it is always the highest possible degree of resemblance attainable in the receptor context.

This means that in Bible translation the level of interpretive resemblance is no longer flexible, but fixed. Bible translators must always aim for the highest possible level of resemblance. However, the level of resemblance that is attainable depends on whether they presuppose the original or the receptor context. If the original context, they will aim to convey all the assumptions of the original; but if the receptor context, they will settle for conveying as many of the assumptions as possible. Obviously, context selection is not a graded notion, but a polar distinction. One either presumes the original or the receptor context; there is no middle ground. *Therefore, on a theoretical level direct and indirect translation are bipolar opposites.* What completely divorces them from each other is the fact that one presumes the original context and the other the receptor context. In almost every other way the two approaches are similar—both aim to convey the maximum possible number of assumptions, both strive for naturalness of expression, both endeavour to keep processing effort to a minimum. What enables direct translation to purport to achieve complete resemblance is the fact that it presupposes the original context; the price paid is increased processing effort because readers must familiarise themselves with the source context. Likewise, what enables indirect translation to produce immediate cognitive effects is not that it uses natural receptor language idiom, but that it allows the readers to interpret it using their own cognitive environment; the price paid for this is loss of contextual effects. Whereas non-biblical indirect translation is a graded notion (depending on the degree of resemblance the translator strives for), biblical indirect translation is a point on a continuum (the translator must strive for maximum resemblance), a point defined in terms of the maximum number of assumptions conveyable in the receptor context.

Does this mean that all Bible translations fall either on the extreme right or on the extreme left of range of the continuum that covers Bible translation? If a pure direct or a pure indirect translation is attempted, the answer is yes. However, almost all existing translations represent a hybrid approach which mixes direct and indirect approaches. Such hybrid

approaches fall somewhere between the two extremes, depending on which approach predominates. Diagram 3 illustrates this situation.

Diagram 3. Bible Translation: The Relationship between Direct and Indirect Translation in terms of the Envisioned Context



In Gutt's account of general translation (diagram 1), the flexible element is the level of interpretive resemblance. Since interpretive resemblance is a graded notion, so is indirect translation. However, when it comes to Bible translation (diagram 3), the level of resemblance is fixed in relation to the context presupposed. Since the flexible element now is no longer the degree of resemblance but the selected context, and context selection is not a graded notion, indirect Bible translation is not a graded notion.

In summary, with reference to Bible translation direct and indirect translation are not merely definitions of points on a continuum, but two distinct kinds of translation. They form points on a continuum only because they can be mixed in a hybrid approach. Even in such cases they remain basically distinct. Any given assumption is conveyed either with reference to the original or the receptor context. A hybrid translation simply switches to and fro between two different approaches. At no stage do the two approaches actually join to form a new, middle-ground approach.

4.2. Applications of Relevance Theoretic Approaches

So far I have discussed direct and indirect translation on a theoretical level. I have not yet addressed the practical implications of these approaches in terms of how they handle specific translation decisions. In this section I shall illustrate how direct and indirect translation would handle some of the translation decisions that regularly confront translators of the Greek New Testament. The list of issues selected is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

Before examining some actual examples, two critical points need to be highlighted. Firstly, relevance theoretic approaches to translation are completely dependent upon the principle of relevance. Neither direct nor indirect translation is a descriptive-classificatory approach. Neither relies on a system of prescriptive translation rules gathered together in some form of classificatory hierarchy. Instead, both rely on the principle of relevance, direct

translation applying it with reference to the original context, indirect translation with reference to the receptor context. Therefore, the discussion that follows is a sample analysis of how the principle of relevance would guide translators with respect to some translation issues. My intent is not to prescribe how direct and indirect translation must handle these issues, but to illustrate the thought processes involved in applying the principle of relevance to them.

Secondly, direct and indirect translation differ in the way they apply the principle of relevance. Indirect translation aims to make the meaning of the source text spontaneously intelligible in the receptor context. The communicative situation it envisions is a straightforward “dialogue” between translator and reader in which the translator relays the essentials of the original in ways that are optimally relevant to the reader. This involves an ordinary application of the principle of relevance within the receptor language context.

The situation is more complex in the case of direct translation. Direct translation requires the readers to make the considerable effort of familiarising themselves with the original context. This enormous increase in processing effort would appear to make it incompatible with the principle of relevance. The critical point here is that direct translation assumes that the author-intended interpretation is already sufficiently relevant to its readers to make it worth their while to make the extra effort required to process it in the context envisaged for the original.⁶² Therefore, the principle of relevance applies only with reference to the original context. Once the readers have familiarised themselves with the cognitive environment of the source they use the principle of relevance to infer the author-intended meaning.

The translation should yield the same interpretation as the original when interpreted according to the principle of relevance using the contextual assumptions envisaged for the original. A direct translation must only pass one test—when read with the original context in mind, it must yield the same interpretation as the original. If it does this, it is a good translation. If it does not, it is a poor translation. This allows for a large amount of leeway in terms of how it handles a given problem. The amount of leeway translators have is partially limited by the fact that the translation is encouraged (not forced) to remain as close to the form of original as is possible without distorting the interpretation of the translation.

What this implies is that direct translation uses the receptor language in the source context. The readers have to project themselves into the contextual environment of the

⁶² The role contextual notes play is that they make it substantially easier for the readers to familiarise themselves with the original context because the information is readily available. This dramatically increases the number of Bible readers for whom direct translation is a viable option.

original communication act and process the linguistic communicative clues of the translated text within that context by means of the principle of relevance. The basic guideline for handling various translation decisions is that if an issue is linguistic in nature it may be freely adjusted, but if it is contextual it should be left unaltered. For those working within the framework of the code model, it is impossible to distinguish between the linguistic and contextual components of an utterance's meaning because the contextual factors are believed to be part of the code shared by those who speak a given language. Therefore, it is correct to speak of language-culture settings. However, within the framework provided by relevance theory one can often distinguish between language and context (see pp. 60-62). Language is not completely dependent on culture (though to a large extent its vocabulary is), but can be used to provide communicative clues in any culture.

4.2.1. Implicit Information

One problem every Bible translation must face is how to handle information that is implicit in the original text, but will be lost in anything resembling a literal translation. Before we can proceed, we need to examine the nature of implicit information, especially the ways in which it differs from explicit information.⁶³

The total set of assumptions conveyed by a text consists of the sum of its explicatures and implicatures.⁶⁴ The explicatures consist of all the meaning linguistically encoded; such meaning is straight-forward: an explicature is a single thought strongly conveyed by the communicator to the audience. Implicatures are more complex in nature. Gutt (1996:244-248) describes three ways in which implicatures differ from explicatures: (a) they can convey a range of thoughts rather than a single thought; (b) they communicate those thoughts with varying degrees of strength; and (c) they force the communicator and the receptor to share the responsibility for deriving the thoughts conveyed.

Indirect translation. Now if the total set of assumptions conveyed by a text consists of the sum of its explicatures and implicatures and a translation has the informative intention of communicating in the receptor context as many as possible of the assumptions communicated by the original, then it must find some way of communicating the implicit information conveyed by the original. In other words, it must attempt to convey the implicatures of the

⁶³ For a fuller discussion, see Gutt (1996) and Sequeiros (1998).

⁶⁴ The terms 'explicatures' and 'implicatures' almost correspond to 'explicit information' and 'implicit information' respectively. Technically speaking, however, explicatures include linguistically implicit information. Thus explicatures consist of all explicit and linguistically implicit information, while implicatures consist of all contextually implicit information.

source text in the receptor context. Since implicatures are *completely* context-dependent, they will often be completely lost unless some measures are taken to make them explicit in the translation. As Larson (1984:42) puts it, implicit information “will sometimes need to be made *explicit* because the source language writer and his audience shared information which is not shared by the receptor language audience.”

Indirect translation, like functional equivalence, advocates that this be done by explicating in the translated text as many as possible of the original implicatures. Wendland (1996b:102) argues that “‘conceptual engineering’ ... is best effected within the translated text itself, if at all possible.” The rationale behind this is that explicating implicatures in the text itself minimises the processing effort readers have to expend in order to retrieve the assumptions of the original.

While this solution sounds simple enough, it is not without negative consequences for the contextual effects a translation conveys. The reason for this lies in the nature of implicatures. After outlining the differences between explicit and implicit information, Gutt (1996:248) draws this significant conclusion: “Since implicit and explicit information differ so significantly, it is likely that the explication of implicit information will change the meaning of the translated text.” When a translation explicates implicit information, each of the above differences are affected: (a) the explication usually has to focus on one or two aspects of range of meanings conveyed by implicatures; (b) those aspects that are made explicit may be communicated more strongly in the translation than in the original; and (c) the translator takes full responsibility for deriving the implicature, which reduces reader involvement with the text. These changes are necessary so that the sum of the explicatures and implicatures in the receptor text approximates that of the source text. Unfortunately, in making them the balance of the message as a whole may change because thoughts expressed weakly as implicatures in the source text are either expressed more strongly as explicatures or omitted altogether from the translated text.

So explicating implicatures involves a trade-off effect. To make the text spontaneously intelligible to its readers, translators have to explicate implicit information. When they do this, they have to accept that they cannot convey all the implicatures of the original text, but have to limit themselves to the ones that are most relevant to their readers. They also have to accept that they will probably convey the selected implicatures more emphatically than the original did. Indirect translation is nevertheless justified if the need to keep processing effort low compensates for the loss of contextual effects caused by explicating implicit information.

Direct translation. Direct translation has a much simpler method of handling implicit information. First of all, it distinguishes between two types of implicit information: (a) linguistically implicit information and (b) contextually implicit information. Linguistically implicit information is information present in the co-text which the structure of the source language does not require to be made explicit.⁶⁵ For example, 1 Timothy 1:3 begins with *καθώς*, *just as*, “a construction that needs a ‘so now’ to complete it” (Fee 1988:48). Although *so now* is omitted in the Greek text, grammatical correctness requires it to be supplied. The *so now* clause is linguistically implicit because the sentence is not syntactically complete without it. From a relevance theoretic perspective, such information is considered part of the text’s explicatures. Contextually implicit information is information that is derived purely from the external context; in other words, it is not implied by the syntax of the language. In Revelation 3:15 the Laodicean church is rebuked for being *neither cold nor hot* (NIV). To appreciate the force these words had on the original readers, one needs to know that Laodicea had no water source of its own, but received its hot and cold water from nearby water sources. All their water was lukewarm by the time it reached them. Although the author surely had this information in mind when he penned 3:15-16, it is not implicit in the text itself. In relevance theoretic terms, inferences derived from associating the content of the text with knowledge of its author-envisioned context are called implicatures.

If something is linguistically implicit, a direct translation may make it explicit on the grounds that it was a real, non-contextual part of communicative clue the original provided for its readers. That the receptor language requires it to be made explicit is a purely linguistic matter caused by structural differences between the source and receptor language. However, if something is contextually implicit, a direct translation should not make it explicit. Since the target audience is presumed to be familiar with the source context, they should be able to draw the same contextual inferences as the original readers.

4.2.2. Figurative Language

Figurative language is closely related to implicit information because it invariably conveys implicit information. Since it is a subset of implicit information, all that was said above is applicable. Nevertheless, it merits separate attention because of its immense importance to both communication and translation. Before discussing how to translate figurative language, let us explore its nature a little further.

⁶⁵ This includes such devices as ellipsis and anacoluthon.

Beekman and Callow (1974:127) describe an understanding of metaphor that is widely held among practitioners of functional equivalence:

A metaphor is an implicit comparison in which one item of the comparison (the 'image') carries a number of components of meaning of which *usually only one is contextually relevant* to and shared by the second item (the 'topic') (italics added).⁶⁶

In their view, metaphor is merely a stylised way of expressing a thought that could be expressed in literal language. Metaphor is a helpful but not an essential part of communication. Their view has an important implication for translation: if a metaphor in the source text is a stylised way of communicating a single assumption, translators can replace it with a literal expression by explicating the point of comparison. This is standard practice in functional equivalence's methodology.

By contrast, MacFague (1962:31) argues that metaphor is central to human thought and communication, and that "religious language," in particular, "is deeply metaphorical."⁶⁷

Mojola (1993:341) goes so on to say that "metaphorical thinking constitutes the basis of human thought and language." He concludes:

In our cognitive activities we are always guided by an eye for similarities and differences. Metaphor, then, is simply an extension of this process, not in a peripheral but in a fundamental sense. *Metaphor is not simply ornamental or rhetorical ... but a heuristic tool, a cognitive instrument* (Mojola 1993:343, italics added).

Mojola (1993:344) quotes Max Black (1979:29) to highlight another essential attribute of metaphorical language, namely, that metaphor does not revolve around a single point of comparison, but rather around "a set of associated implications" that form an "implicative complex."

This analysis of metaphor is almost identical to Sperber and Wilson's (1986:231-237) view of metaphor. Two essential qualities are apparent: (a) metaphor is a central and pervasive aspect of human thought and communication and (b) metaphor projects a range of implicatures upon the subject. Mojola (1993:343) points out the implications this view has for Bible translation:

⁶⁶ Mojola (1993) includes this quote in his argument.

⁶⁷ *Metaphor* is used here in a broad sense to include, by means of synecdoche, all figurative language.

If we take further the idea that metaphor is a heuristic tool or a cognitive instrument, it may in fact follow that by substituting metaphor with its purported literal equivalent we are weakening the communicative power of the original metaphorical statement, and running the danger of distorting or falsifying the message.

By explicating figurative language, Bible translators can seriously compromise the extent to which their translation conveys the same set of assumptions the original conveyed.

With this background in mind, let us now consider how direct and indirect translation would handle figurative language. Direct translation has a rather simple solution. Since metaphors depend on the audience's knowledge of its cognitive environment for their effect, direct translation will almost always retain the metaphor in the original text. Then, by supplying the audience with the background information on which the effect of the metaphor depends, it enables them to retrieve all of its implicatures.

Indirect translation has more difficulty with metaphors. The problems arise with metaphors that depend on knowledge of the original context. Rendering them literally increases the processing effort needed to understand them. Conversely, explicating them may compromise the contextual effects produced by failing to convey all the implicatures present in the original. There is no perfect solution.

The best approach seems to be one akin to the way functional equivalence handles them, though with a couple of small adaptations. Since functional equivalence assumes that the metaphor hinges around one point of comparison, it assumes it can explicate *any* metaphor without subtracting from the content of the original.⁶⁸ A relevance theoretic approach cannot make this assumption. If a metaphor conveys a wide range of implicatures, explicating it may severely undermine the ability of the translated text to convey a set of assumptions (explicatures and implicatures) that approximates those of the original text. Consequently, an indirect translation should feel free to explicate metaphors under only two conditions: (a) when the metaphor conveys only a couple of implicatures, so not much is lost in translation or (b) when only a couple of the implicatures conveyed by the original are deemed relevant to the target audience and these can be conveyed by explication. Under other circumstances, it should switch to direct translation.

⁶⁸ It admits that this process may compromise the style and effect of the translation, but denies that it alters the content of what is expressed.

Finally, what about Jan de Waard's (1975, cited in Mojola 1993:343) suggestion that the loss of impact caused by removing some metaphors can be compensated by inserting new metaphors into the translated text? Such an approach is acceptable if and only if the manufactured metaphor conveys some of the implicatures that were lost by explicating another metaphor. If, as a result of such compensation, the sum of the explicatures and implicatures of the translated text is a more complete subset of those of the original text *and* the compensation does not introduce new, foreign implicatures, then its use is justified. In Bible translation, its use is not justified purely for stylistic effect. My suspicion, without having tested the theory, is that there will be few opportunities for such compensation.

4.2.3. Inclusive Language

In recent years Bible translators have been faced with a new issue—whether or not to remove the natural bias many languages have toward using masculine nouns and pronouns in generic expressions.⁶⁹ The inclusive language debate is very much a reflection of twentieth-century cultural norms. It reflects, in particular, the influence of the feminist movement, which has come to prominence over the past 50 years. The debate can be reduced to two questions: (a) should we use inclusive language at all? and (b) if so, to what extent? Relevance theory can offer some helpful guidelines.

The test of a good direct translation is that when interpreted in the context envisioned for the original readers it yields the author-intended interpretation. In many cases—usually those where a generic masculine form is used to refer to men and women—the use of inclusive or exclusive language will not affect the interpretation at all. If two English speaking people were living in first-century Israel, the meaning of Matthew 12:30 would be the same whether phrased as *he who is not with me is against me* (NIV) or *whoever is not with me is against me* (NRSV). Either of these would be a perfectly acceptable direct translation of ὁ μὴ ὦν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν. In general, a direct translation should not depart from the form of the original unless that is required for the sake of preserving its communicative clues. However, if translating for readers who are known to be sensitive to feminist issues and lacking the space to provide explanatory notes that alter the readers' cognitive environment, translators are free to employ inclusive renderings so as to prevent communication breakdowns.

⁶⁹ The gender issue is the most important issue in the inclusive language debate, though not the only one. Harris (1997:213) points out that “[i]nclusive language is not just about gender, but about including all who are intentionally or unintentionally excluded by language.” Among the other issues it addresses are prejudice against disabled people, Jewish people, black people, and even left-handed people.

In some cases, however, the use of inclusive forms would significantly alter the meaning of the text in the original context. The best example of this is using inclusive language to refer to God. Consider the NIT decision to refer to God not as *Father*, but as *Father-Mother*. In first-century Israel referring to God as *Father* would evoke in the minds of readers an array of images (implicatures) associated with their cultural concept of fatherhood; none of these implicatures would include negative, gender-prejudiced connotations. Using *Father-Mother* or *Parent* instead would completely change the range of implicatures conveyed; therefore, it is a poor direct translation.

In the case of indirect translation, everything depends upon the readers. The test of a good indirect translation is that it spontaneously provides readers with those explicatures and implicatures of the original that are relevant to them. If they are not sensitive to feminist issues, indirect translation can safely retain exclusive language without jeopardising the communicative success of the translation. Conversely, if the receptor context is sensitive to feminist issues, inclusive language will be necessary to ensure communicative success.

The extent to which the use of inclusive language should be taken depends on (a) how sensitive the readers are to such issues and (b) which of the original's implicatures the translators deem relevant to the readers. Neither *Father* nor *Father-Mother* would convey the same range of implicatures in a modern English speaking context as *πατήρ* did in first-century contexts. The problem can be approached in two ways, either by asking which rendering comes closest to conveying the range of implicatures conveyed by *πατήρ* or by asking which rendering conveys the implicatures of *πατήρ* that are most relevant to this particular audience. In the case of Bible translation the first question has priority because readers assume all the original implicatures to be relevant to them; the second question only comes into consideration when the first is unhelpful.

Thus relevance theory provides helpful guidelines for handling the sensitive issue of inclusive language. Since the use of masculine language in generic expressions would only be offensive in a modern context, there is seldom any need to eradicate it from a translation that presupposes an ancient cultural environment. However, when the receptor culture is sensitive to feminist issues, an indirect translation will need to consider inclusive language on a case by case basis.

4.2.4. Ambiguities

Indirect translation takes a simple stance on this issue: it removes ambiguity. The goal of an indirect translation is to produce immediate cognitive effects in the receptor context.

One of the qualities of ordinary communication is that meaning is single-fold. Although a linguistic stimulus viewed in isolation may be susceptible to multiple interpretations, when interpreted in the author-intended context it should lend itself to only one interpretation. In other words, “every utterance has at most one interpretation which is consistent with the principle of relevance” (Wilson and Sperber 1987:14). So to achieve its aim of successfully communicating with the receptor audience, indirect translation has to remove ambiguities.

Let us consider 1 Corinthians 7:1b as an example. The Greek text reads καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι. A gloss translation of this would read *it is good for a man not to touch a woman* (NASB). This is unacceptable as an indirect translation because the expression *to touch a woman* is a Greek idiom which is meaningless in modern English. The problem is that the meaning of this idiom is disputed. Does it mean *to marry [a woman]* (NIV) or *to have sexual relations with a woman* (NIV margin)? An indirect translation should choose between these two options.

What about direct translation, does it advocate retaining or removing ambiguities? Historically translations that focus on the form of the original have tended to retain ambiguities; they have tried to keep interpretive bias to a minimum. Conversely, those that have focused on the meaning of the original have tended to encourage translators to interpret the original and put a single meaning in the text. The problem is that direct translation does both of the above. It focuses on the linguistic properties (including form) of the original and also requires translators to interpret the original before translating it. How then should it handle ambiguities?

The clue to resolution lies in the nature of ambiguities. Relevance theory shows that almost every utterance is linguistically ambiguous. Ambiguity is removed from an utterance when it is inferentially (contextually) enriched. Thus statements in the Greek New Testament that seem ambiguous to modern readers were probably not so to the original readers, not because they had a better grasp of Greek syntax, but because they used the author-envisaged contextual assumptions to process them. A statement that is grammatically ambiguous to us would also be grammatically, though not semantically, ambiguous to them. The crucial point is that if an ambiguity is present in the linguistic properties of the original, there is no need to remove it from the linguistic properties of a direct translation. The reason it functioned as a clear communicative clue for its original readers was not because it was grammatically unambiguous, but because contextual factors enabled them to choose the author-intended meaning from a range of grammatically possible interpretations. Since direct translation presupposes knowledge of the original context, removal of linguistic ambiguities is

unnecessary and undesirable. A receptor language utterance that is grammatically ambiguous will still provide an effective communicative clue when interpreted in that context. From our perspective, most ambiguities stem from lack of contextual knowledge.

In the case of 1 Corinthians 7:1, a direct translation can retain the ambiguity with the literal rendering *to touch a woman*. The context indicates that the Corinthians had written to Paul asking for clarification about *touching a woman*, which means they were aware of what it meant. Assigning a referent to this phrase is dependent on contextual knowledge, namely, how the Corinthians themselves had used it. Since we do not have their letter to Paul, we can only guess which meaning they had in mind. So the best solution is to render ambiguously and supply a note explaining the possible meanings of the phrase.

This suggests the following guideline: *whenever possible a direct translation should retain linguistic ambiguities*. There are of course occasions when structural differences between source and receptor languages make it impossible for translators to produce statements that mirror each other in terms of their ambiguities. For example, the Greek expression ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης in Titus 2:13 is linguistically ambiguous. It could mean either *glorious appearing* or *appearing of the glory*. Unfortunately, no single English translation leaves room for both interpretations. So translators are forced to make an interpretive choice, place their preferred clue in the text, and possibly put the alternative meaning in a footnote.⁷⁰

4.2.5. Transliterations

Although the decision as to whether or not to transliterate a source text word for which there is no satisfactory receptor language equivalent is not a common translation problem, it is included here because it illustrates the difference between direct and indirect translation neatly. The clue to resolution comes from the fact that “words only have meaning in terms of the culture of which they are a part” (Nida 1981:100; cf. Nida 1964:34). It follows that a translation intended to be read with the receptor language culture in mind, such as an indirect translation, would have to avoid transliterations; such words would be meaningless in the envisaged context. Conversely, in a translation prepared to be read with the original culture in mind, a transliterated word would be suitable since it would have a referent in the envisaged

⁷⁰ Whether or not to place the alternate reading in a note would depend on three considerations: (a) space, (b) importance, and (c) certainty. If space is no problem, all notes can be included. If it is, the inclusion of notes should depend on the importance of the issue involved and the degree of doubt translators have about their interpretation. Including graded certainty ratings, as UBS4 does with textual variants, is an attractive concept.

context. Thus transliterating an occasional word, accompanied by an explanatory footnote, suits direct translation well.

As far as translation is concerned, John 1:1 is arguably the most controversial verse in the NT. One of the difficulties this verse poses is that English has no word even remotely akin to λόγος in terms of the range connotations it suggests. John probably used λόγος here to evoke an entire assumption schema in his readers' minds. The usual English gloss *word* does not convey anything like the deep philosophical overtones that were associated with λόγος in NT times. Therefore, a direct translation would do well transliterate it as *logos* and explain in a note the kind of assumptions its use could evoke. This would not be spontaneously intelligible to English readers, but it would enable those willing to expend a little effort to find out what λόγος implies. As a result, they would retrieve more of John's intended implicatures and appreciate his prologue better. This approach would not do for an indirect translation because *logos* would produce no cognitive effects whatsoever.⁷¹ An indirect translation would need to isolate the dominant component(s) of λόγος' meaning in this passage and select the receptor language word or phrase that best expresses those notions.

4.3. *Objections to Relevance Theoretic Approaches*

Although relevance theory holds great value for Bible translation theory, its application is not problem free. Relevance theory is first and foremost a communication theory designed to account for first-hand, intralingual communication. Its extended application to Bible translation poses some challenges. In this section I shall examine some objections to applying relevance theory to Bible translation.

The most serious criticism of a relevance theoretic approach to Bible translation has come from Ernst Wendland (1996a, 1996b, and 1997). At the centre of Wendland's criticisms is his contention that relevance theoretic approaches to translation are too abstract and theoretical, that they do not provide translators with enough concrete guidelines to help them make translation choices. He vehemently defends the use of descriptive-classificatory schemes such as are encouraged by functionally equivalent methods, arguing that they provide translators with more practical assistance than the principle of relevance.

Although Wendland makes some valid points, he does not seem to have fully understood the implications of Gutt's (1991) relevance theoretic account of translation. His

⁷¹ Alternatively, it could produce wrong contextual effects if the readers had assimilated misguided views about the meaning of the word λόγος (e.g. preachers sometimes provide inaccurate definitions of λόγος). In such cases, the transliteration would produce contextual effects, but these effects would not interpretively resemble those derived by the original readers.

objections reflect a mixture of valid challenges that a relevance theoretic approach needs to confront and common misconceptions of the limitations of a relevance theoretic approach. To examine his objections as succinctly as possible, I shall restate each important point in my own words (more or less in the order Wendland raises them). The objections stated in italics are my reformulations of his points.

Objection 1: The twin pillars of relevance theory—adequate contextual effects and minimal processing effort—are such subjective, relative notions as to be of little value to translators. Who decides what constitutes *minimal* or *justifiable* processing effort? What constitutes *adequate* contextual effects? “On what basis is one to determine such relative notions?” (Wendland 1996b:94). Relevance theory provides no fixed yardstick with which to measure these things, no concrete criteria by which interpreters or translators can evaluate them. The principle of relevance amounts to little more than “a sliding scale of evaluation that is so fluid as to be relatively useless as a diagnostic criterion” (1996b:95).

Wendland is correct that the principle of relevance is a subjective and relative notion, but incorrect in deducing that it is therefore of little value to translators. By its very nature the principle of relevance defies objective attempts to quantify what constitutes *adequate effects* or *justifiable effort* in a given communicative situation because relevance depends upon the interplay between these two factors in a given context. Interpreting a verbal stimulus requires the hearer to weigh the balance between contextual effects and processing effort. The interplay between these two factors varies from one context to another; thus interpretation is a context-dependent judgement call that cannot be reduced to rules.

Any attempt to create an objective tool (a classificatory hierarchy) out of it would require one to assign relative weight to each item on the tool in any given communicative context—an impossibility since the relative weight an item carries varies from one occasion to another. Instead, it provides translators with a guideline for evaluating the weight of such factors as are listed in classificatory hierarchies by assessing the balance between their processing effort and contextual effects. This kind of interpretive assessment has always been and will always be a subjective task. Interpreters have to rely on their common sense, which, according to relevance theory, is instinctively governed by the principle of relevance.

Gutt does not suggest that we abolish the use of classificatory schemes; he admits that they are useful guidelines. Their proper use, however, must be controlled by a healthy understanding of the nature of translation. Gutt (2000:227) puts it this way: “... a knowledge of these rules and guidelines *alone* is not sufficient and cannot replace the need for an understanding of the nature of communication.” Translators who understand the nature of

translation are able to apply translation guidelines with discernment. The principle of relevance facilitates the proper application of translation guidelines. Furthermore, the principle of relevance provides translators with valuable assistance “in all those instances for which no rules or guidelines exist” (Gutt 2000:228, italics removed).

Objection 2: Relevance theory provides no objective, scientific criteria for evaluating translation decisions (Wendland 1997:88-91). This objection is a logical corollary to the previous one. The classificatory schemes just mentioned include descriptions of how the translated text should be equivalent to its source. If such tools are not employed, what objective means of evaluating the accuracy of a translation remains?

This objection presupposes what Gutt (2000:204) calls “the ‘input-output’ account of translation.” He describes the approach as follows:

Its most central axiom appears to be that translation is best studied by systematic comparisons of the observable input and output of the translation process: ‘input’ being the original text, ‘output’ the translated or target text (2000:204).

The input-output approach to evaluation is *text-centred*; it relies on comparison of source and target texts on the basis of a range of specified criteria to determine faithfulness.

However, Gutt’s (2000:208-209) argument that translation cannot be accounted for in terms of text-based equivalence relations is convincing. Instead, relevance theory suggests a “competence-oriented” (2000:205) approach to translation in which translation is studied in terms of the human communicative competence that makes it possible. In this approach the effectiveness of a translation is not assessed on the basis of text-based comparisons, but by comparing the interpretations produced by source and receptor texts. If two texts produce equivalent interpretations, then the texts interpretively resemble one another. This seems to provide a very practical method of evaluating translations.

Objection 3: The desire to translate in such a way as to produce immediate cognitive effects in the receptor language setting can lead to serious distortions of the meaning of the source text. Gutt’s (1991) description of indirect translation gives the impression that “the fundamental factor which is to guide all translation practice ... is meaningfulness in terms of the relevant ‘context’ of the receptor (group)” (Wendland 1996b:101). This “emphasis on reception” carries with it a real danger that translators may consciously or unconsciously distort the meaning of the source text in their quest to make it maximally relevant to audiences whose cognitive environment is vastly disparate from that of the original audience. “[I]t seems as if the receptor perspective is overly emphasized at the expense of the intention of the original author/text” (Wendland 1996b:103).

One of the most common misconceptions concerning a relevance theoretic approach to translation is that the principle of relevance operates chiefly in relation to the receptor context. Translators can distort the meaning of the source text if by so doing they increase contextual effects and/or decrease processing effort. While this is true of covert translation, it is certainly not true of indirect translation. The principle of relevance requires that the set of assumptions conveyed by the translation must be a legitimate subset of those conveyed by the original. Furthermore, in the case of Bible translation, it also requires that the set of assumptions conveyed by the translation be the largest possible subset of those conveyed by the original. Gutt's (1991:102) statement that "the translation [should resemble] the original in relevant respects" must be understood in the light of these two constraints. Only when one assumption must be conveyed at the expense of another do considerations of which one is more relevant to the target readers come into play. Considerations of what is optimally relevant to receptors do not in any way provide translators with licence or leeway to distort the meaning of the original.

If translators are not free to alter the meaning of the text in order to maximise relevance, then what does Gutt (1991:101) mean when he says "the principle of relevance heavily constrains the translation with regard to both *what it is intended to convey* and how it is expressed" (italics added)? An indirect translation cannot convey all the assumptions the original conveyed. The principle of relevance helps translators to determine which assumptions are communicable in the receptor context and, in situations where one nuance of meaning must be conveyed at the expense of another, to determine which is most important. However, the content of the assumptions themselves is controlled by the meaning of the original text. Gutt makes this clear by saying, "*where the translator cannot preserve all the explicatures and implicatures but has to select*, consistency with the principle of relevance would require that he give priority to a rendering that will achieve an optimum of relevance" (Gutt 1990:160, italics added).

Furthermore, far from downplaying the intention of the original author (Wendland 1996b:103), relevance theory emphasises it. Relevance theory espouses, as Deist (1992:91) correctly observes, a strongly author-centred view of meaning.

Objection 4: Relevance theory's overly cognitive view of human communication is inadequate. It is a reductionistic approach that purports to account for the full range of communicative phenomena, but in effect accounts only for its cognitive aspects (cf. Wendland 1996b:103-105).

This is by far the most serious challenge to a relevance theoretic approach to translation because it strikes at its foundation. However, Wendland is incorrect in asserting that relevance theory provides a purely cognitive account of communication. If this were true, linguists would have rejected relevance theory out of hand. All linguists, Sperber and Wilson included, recognise that people sometimes use utterances for purposes other than transferring information. I shall return to this objection below (see pp. 95-96).

Objection 5: A relevance theoretic approach to translation cannot live up to its claim of being able to achieve complete interpretive resemblance, that is, to convey all the communicative clues of the original. Wendland (1997:85) quotes this statement by Gutt (1991:164): "... interpretive resemblance is a graded notion that has complete resemblance as its limiting case: indirect translation covers most of the continuum, and direct translation picks out the limiting case." He takes this to mean that a relevance theoretic approach claims to be able to achieve complete interpretive resemblance between source text and translated text. "It would seem obvious that it is not possible to achieve 'complete resemblance' by means of any kind of translation," he protests, "a 'direct' translation calling for 'the preservation of all communicative clues' of the original is an impossibility ..." (1997:85).

Wendland is correct that complete resemblance is unattainable. No reasonable person, Gutt included, would deny this. He is, however, quite incorrect in his assertion that relevance theory claims to be able to *achieve* complete resemblance. Gutt's (1991) analysis of direct translation in terms of complete interpretive resemblance is on a theoretical and idealised level. His point is that if one could reproduce all the communicative clues of the original and furnish readers with all the contextual assumptions available to the original readers, complete resemblance could be achieved.⁷² By contrast, even in an ideal situation functional equivalence could not achieve complete resemblance because it assumes the receptor language context and all the original's assumptions will not be communicable in a different context.

That Gutt makes no claim of being able to achieve complete interpretive resemblance is easily demonstrated from his comments under the heading "On the limits of direct translation" (1990:158-160). The following three quotes should prove the point:

⁷² As Wendland (1997:85-86) dutifully points out, this ideal will never be achievable in practice for two reasons: (a) we do not and never will share all the original audience's contextual assumptions and (b) certain stylistic features of a text (formal elements) convey meaning in and of themselves, meaning which it may not be possible to reproduce in translation.

- (a) I think there are good reasons to assume that translatability does not generally exist, at least not in the strong sense entailed by direct translation (1990:158).
- (b) However, ... our definition relies on a *presumption*—not a guarantee of success.... By the same token, the presumption of complete resemblance does not guarantee success—but *lays down the conditions for its success* (1990:159).
- (c) At the same time, language differences make it impossible to achieve complete interpretive resemblance ... (1990:159).

Objection 6: Direct translation seems to be “an elaborate, theoretically-based effort to justify what is commonly termed a ‘literal’ approach to Bible translation” (Wendland 1997:86). Wendland raises several objections that all result from equating direct translation with formal equivalence. Firstly, direct translation allows translators to abdicate their interpretive responsibility, with two negative consequences: (a) producing a text that abounds with difficult, meaningless, or ambiguous expressions and (b) placing the bulk of the interpretive burden upon laymen “who intellectually may be unable to bear it” (1997:87). Secondly, “the degree of variability allowed even by the ‘limiting case’ of direct translation” is too large, thus making the method difficult to apply. What he means by this, I think, is that there is too much variety in what could be classified as direct translation.

The foundational premise of all these objections is wrong. Although on a scale of literalness direct translation lies closer to formal than to functional equivalence, it is a long way from being formal equivalence under a different name. Since I have already shown that direct translation differs from formal equivalence, I shall merely show how Wendland’s resultant objections are false.

One of the clearest differences between direct translation and formal equivalence is that direct translation forces translators to accept their interpretive responsibility. Gutt (1990 and 1991) repeatedly emphasises that no one can adequately translate without first understanding the message of the source text.⁷³

Direct translation does not advocate mechanically reproducing the form of the original text, but reproducing the communicative clues conveyed by the original text. Therefore, it is

⁷³ He says, for example, that “a thorough understanding of the original text is a necessary precondition for making a good translation. This is naturally entailed if translation is based on interpretive use: in order to produce such a translation, the translator needs to know the interpretation of the original, and in the case of direct translation, aiming at complete interpretive resemblance, his knowledge of the original would have to be very good indeed” (Gutt 1991:164).

nowhere near as open to the charge of producing unnecessarily difficult or ambiguous readings as is formal equivalence. Grammatical ambiguities are only reproduced when similar ambiguity confronts the reader of the original, that is, when the original Greek readers are dependent upon the context for disambiguation. They are never reproduced simply for the sake of blind adherence to form. Thus, when the original text offers a clear communicative clue, a direct translation will not retain its form if the resultant communicative clue is unclear in the receptor language. Furthermore, when grammatical ambiguities are reproduced, the reader can be supplied with the necessary contextual information to resolve the ambiguity. Whereas formal equivalence creates the impression of reading Greek in modern setting, direct translation creates the impression of reading English in a Hellenistic context.

The charge that direct translation places the interpretive burden on the readers instead of the translators is partially true. It would be more accurate to say that it distributes the interpretive responsibility between translators and readers.⁷⁴ In the first place, it places much responsibility on translators to interpret the original text correctly so as to be able to identify and reformulate its communicative clues. If the translators fail here, the correct interpretation of the text will not be available to the readers. However, the final product does leave more room than functional equivalence for the readers to do their own exegesis. This is mainly because direct translation does not explicate the texts implicatures. Instead, it tries to provide readers with contextual information that enables them to draw their own inferences. Wendland's concern that the target readers may not be intellectually able to bear the added responsibility suggests that he has failed to recognise that serious Bible readers constitute the target audience for direct translation. Van der Merwe (1999, abstract) explains the justification for direct translation:

Since the adequacy of a translation is primarily determined by the purpose that it must serve, serious well-informed Bible readers that do not wish to be subjected to the translators' interpretations can justifiably claim that their need of a type of translation that is less subject to interpretation, is legitimate.

Although Gutt's (1991) original account of a relevance theoretic approach to translation did not specifically propose different types of translations for different types of audiences, it did imply the need for it.

⁷⁴ By contrast, formal equivalence places the interpretive burden squarely upon the readers and functional equivalence places it mainly upon the translators.

Finally, the very fact that direct translation can be charged with allowing for a large amount of variability in renderings is evidence that it is not a mechanical method of translation that allows translators to abdicate their interpretive responsibility. The context-dependent nature of communication implies that vastly different stimuli (different utterances) can serve produce the same communicative clues. Just as speakers have freedom in how they express themselves, so do translators. Fully formally equivalent translations allow for a minimal amount of variability. This is so because they take only two levels of analysis into account, lexical and grammatical, being conscientious to match source and receptor language components word-for-word and form-for-form. By contrast, functional equivalence allows translators enormous freedom of expression; provided the final product faithfully represents the meaning of the original, its form is of minor importance. Direct translation falls somewhere between these two, adhering to the form of the original when that will produce a clear communicative clue, but allowing translators freedom to reformulate when such adherence will be misleading or unclear. Since it includes more than just lexical and grammatical levels of analysis, such adjustments are required fairly frequently.

Objection 7: Relevance theory is too complex to teach to Bible translators. Relevance theory is an extremely complex theory which is not easy to grasp unless one has some background in linguistics. Its extensive terminology, in particular, is difficult to master. Consequently, it is not a practical method to teach to Bible translators.

Relevance theory certainly is not easily learned, but Bible translation is not something that can be learned overnight. Anyone who wants to become a Bible translator already has to learn Hebrew and Greek, acquire a thorough working knowledge of such fields as biblical theology, history, and culture, know how to use modern hermeneutical methods such as textual, rhetorical, and literary criticism and master the receptor language and worldview. Would such a person be deterred by the need to understand relevance theory? Furthermore, mastering the techniques involved in producing a good functionally equivalent translation is no easy task. Bible translation is not a task for anyone unwilling or unable to learn relevance theory. Furthermore, time and effort spent learning to understand the nature of translation, including the conditions for success, not only improves effectiveness but also saves time and effort in the long run.

As for mother-tongue speakers that work in conjunction with Bible translators, they do not need to understand relevance theory at all. Without knowing any of relevance theory's technical terminology, they instinctively use the principle of relevance to interpret utterances. All they need to be able to do is say how a given rendering is likely be interpreted in their

context; they do not need to understand the mental processes used to derive that interpretation.

Sappire (1994:37-38) believes that a relevance theoretic approach to faithfulness in translation is dependent upon the audience's expectations. As a result it opens the door for translators to manipulate the source text to meet their readers' expectations. They might, for example, *introduce* a feminist bias to satisfy feminist readers. Sappire makes two mistakes. Firstly, he misunderstands the fact that interpretive use, by its very definition, requires translators to be true to the content and meaning of their source. Whereas they may not be able to convey all the assumptions the original did, what they do convey has to be a legitimate subset of those assumptions. If they deliberately change the original author's meaning in any way, they have not produced a faithful translation. Thus deliberate manipulation of the original is ruled out; in relevance theoretic terms, this would be a covert translation, which is not really a translation at all. Secondly, he does not address the difference between direct and indirect translation.⁷⁵ While indirect translation takes the audience's context, including its expectations, into account, direct translation does not. Hence, it is free from the kind of manipulation Sappire fears. Even indirect translation, correctly practised, is not subject to manipulation because the moment translators introduce extraneous information into the translation they cross over from interpretive to descriptive use; when they do this, they are no longer practising indirect translation. Therefore, Sappire's conclusion that a relevance theoretic approach to translation undermines the authority of the original text is simply false.⁷⁶

Of a more serious nature are the problems Ferdinand Deist (1992) raises. Although he believes relevance theory has a valuable contribution to make to biblical studies, he also identifies some limitations in its application to Bible translation. Two of these relate to the fact that relevance theory defines meaning from the point of view of what a rational speaker would deem relevant to a particular audience.

The first problem concerns the goal of communication. Relevance theory views the goal of communication as producing contextual effects. Deist (1992), basing his comments largely on O'Neill's (1988-89) critique of relevance theory, understands *producing contextual*

⁷⁵ This is partly due to the fact that his focus is not on Bible translation, but on politically motivated translation. He is dealing not with translating ancient texts, but contemporary ones. Consequently, his interest lies solely in indirect translation.

⁷⁶ Ironically, Deist (1992:91) views it as distinctly author-centred. He says that "if accepted ... this approach could, with apologies to Hirsch, be called a theory 'in defence of the author.'"

effects as being synonymous with *conveying propositional information*. Deist (1992:101) then objects:

O'Neill (1988/9:247ff) is correct: "A purely cognitivist view of communication of the kind provided by Sperber and Wilson cannot ... be sustained: communicative acts are social acts that have an irreducible social dimension." Some forms of communication ... are intended to maintain or strengthen social relations, to exercise power, etc., so that the insistence that communication always implies the transference of (cognitive) propositional information may be an overstatement.

To illustrate his point, Deist (1992:101) cites 2 Kings 8:13 in which Hazael says, "How could your servant, a mere dog, accomplish such a feat?" (NIV). This statement, he argues, "constitutes mere court style *without any new information being transferred*."

However, to equate producing contextual effects with transferring propositional information is to misunderstand relevance theory. Relevance theory does not claim that the goal of every act of communication is to transfer information; it claims that every act of communication is intended to alter the audience's cognitive environment, its assumptions about the world. Sometimes a rational speaker can produce contextual effects *without* transferring propositional information. For example, a simple exchange of greetings does not convey any unknown information, but it does produce contextual effects. Consider this dialogue:

Paul: Hi Sally, how are you?

Sally: Fine thanks, and you?

Although no propositional information is exchanged,⁷⁷ this simple dialogue does produce contextual effects. The fact that Paul initiated such a greeting and the tone in which he addressed Sally so *will* reinforce or undermine her assumptions about the status of their relationship (whatever its nature). Sally's response *will* have similar affects on Paul.

Similarly, in Deist's (1992:101) example from 2 Kings 8:13, Hazael's use of formalised language *was* intended to produce contextual effects even though it did not transfer previously unknown information about Hazael's social status. Aware of his own intentions to assassinate Ben-Hadad and sensing that Elijah could see through his evil scheme, Hazael tried to weaken Elijah's convictions with a display of false humility. The contextual effects Hazael was trying

⁷⁷ This is assuming that Paul's question "how are you?" and Sally's response "fine thanks" are frozen idioms rather than literal expression of concern and well-being. In most contexts, Paul would not genuinely be enquiring as to Sally's state of health nor would she be affirming literal well-being.

to produce were not related to the propositional content of his utterance, but they were nevertheless contextual effects.

The ability of relevance theory to explain communication is not limited to instances where language is used with an informative function. It can also account for the so-called emotive, expressive, imperative, and performative functions of language. Emotive language achieves its effect by altering the audience's assumptions about the world, thereby affecting their emotions. Paul's line of defence in Acts 23:6 was intended to evoke an emotional response from the Pharisees. He evoked that response by altering their assumptions about the world, specifically, about his religious affiliation and his teachings. Expressive utterances are often used to produce behavioural responses. They produce these responses by causing the hearers to identify with the speaker's experience, thereby altering their assumptions about the world and causing them to act differently.

Relevance theory's notion of producing contextual effects is a much broader concept than conveying information. In some of these cases, the ultimate goal of communication is not to change people's understanding about the world but to affect their feelings or actions. However, these emotional or behavioural effects are always achieved by altering their assumptions about the world. Thus producing contextual effects is always a goal of communication, whether that goal is an end in itself or a means to a higher end.

The other problem concerns the nature of rationality. What is regarded as rational by people who hold one worldview may not be regarded as such by those who hold to a different worldview. In other words, rationality itself is context-dependent. The problem is that although the biblical authors may have provided their audiences with communicative clues that were rational by their concept of rationality, when a direct translation reproduces those same clues for modern readers who have a different concept of rationality, they may seem irrational and fail to produce the intended contextual effects. The problem is both real and apparent. On the one hand, direct translation presupposes the use of the original context. Since context is a psychological construct (the set of premises used to interpret an utterance), the audience's concept of rationality forms part of the context. Therefore, direct translation assumes modern readers will read the text using the original audience's concept of rationality and, as a result, the problem is only apparent. On the other hand, people's ways of thinking are so deeply ingrained within them that they cannot be altered by an explanatory note. The problem cannot be overcome as easily as other contextual problems.

So in practice there is a problem, even if there is not one in theory. However, it is a problem that, to a greater or lesser extent, plagues all translation theories. If the original

utterance did depend on ancient concepts of rationality for its interpretation, any modern translation will struggle to convey the point to modern readers. Relevance theory does not create this problem, it merely brings it to the surface. In some such cases, indirect translation has an advantage over direct translation because scholars, who are accustomed to working with biblical materials and are familiar with ancient ways of thinking, may be able to convey the same set of assumptions using modern standards of rationality. In other cases, however, there will be no way of doing so and indirect translation will experience communicability problems. The best direct translators can do is to acknowledge the existence of the problem and do their best to help their readers understand the mindset of the original readers.

4.4. Summary of Relevance Theoretic Approaches

This brings my description of direct and indirect translation to a close. By way of review, let me briefly summarise the main features of each. Indirect translation is based on interpretive resemblance and aims to convey as many as possible of the assumptions conveyed by the original in such a way as to produce immediate contextual effects in the receptor context. Its target reader is a casual Bible reader who is not prepared to expend any more than the absolute minimum amount of effort to understand the text. By way of details, it explicates implicit information (including figurative language), employs inclusive language, removes ambiguities, and avoids transliterations.

Direct translation does not aim to produce immediate contextual effects, but rather to identify all the communicative clues of the original and produce a receptor language text which, if interpreted with the original context in mind, yields all the explicatures and implicatures of the original. Its target reader is a serious Bible reader who is willing to expend a little extra effort to understand the original context. By way of details, it does not explicate implicit information, avoids inclusive language, retains ambiguities, and occasionally employs transliterations.

Table 3. Comparison of Indirect and Direct Translation

Indirect Translation	Direct Translation
Based on the inferential model	Based on the inferential model
Conveys assumptions	Conveys stimuli ⁷⁸
Presumes receptor context	Presumes source context
Targets casual Bible readers	Targets serious Bible readers
Encodes explicatures and implicatures	Encodes explicatures only
Uses inclusive language	Avoids inclusive language
Tends to remove ambiguities	Tends to retain ambiguities
Disallows transliterations	Allows transliterations

5. Conclusion

I have outlined four approaches to Bible translation, two older ones (formal and functional equivalence) and two newer ones (direct and indirect translation). Since relevance theory provides the best current framework for understanding translation, the newer approaches represent a theoretical improvement over the older ones. Therefore, I believe that direct translation should become the dominant approach to Bible translation.

From the perspective of remaining faithful to the explicit content of the original, direct translation is the best available approach to Bible translation. For those Bible readers who are prepared to expend a little extra effort to familiarise themselves with the original context of the Bible, it has a significant communicative advantage over any other approach. Historically, formal equivalence has been the approach that targeted serious Bible readers. Direct translation, however, represents a massive improvement over formal equivalence both in terms of clarity (processing effort) and accuracy (contextual effects).

Indirect translation is qualitatively inferior to direct translation as a Bible translation approach because it cannot convey as many of the original assumptions. Whereas direct translation is a massive improvement over formal equivalence, indirect translation is only a slight improvement over functional equivalence. In many ways, the two approaches are all but identical.

⁷⁸ It would be inaccurate to say that direct translation transfers communicative clues from the source to the receptor language. It does try to identify the communicative clues conveyed by the original, but does not attempt to transfer them. They provide understanding of the original meaning. The translator must then formulate a receptor language text that conveys the same interpretation. In relevance theoretic terms, the translated text must function as a stimulus that interacts with the original context in the same way the original text did.

Despite being inferior to direct translations, indirect translations remain viable for those Bible readers who are not prepared to expend the extra effort required to gain maximum benefit from a direct translation. In producing them, translators consciously accept the fact that they cannot convey all the explicatures and implicatures of the original text, but believe the loss in content is compensated by the fact that those who do read these translations gain more from them than the selfsame readers would gain from direct translations. Thus, although from a purely theoretical perspective indirect translations are inferior to direct translations, in some specific situations they are more effective.

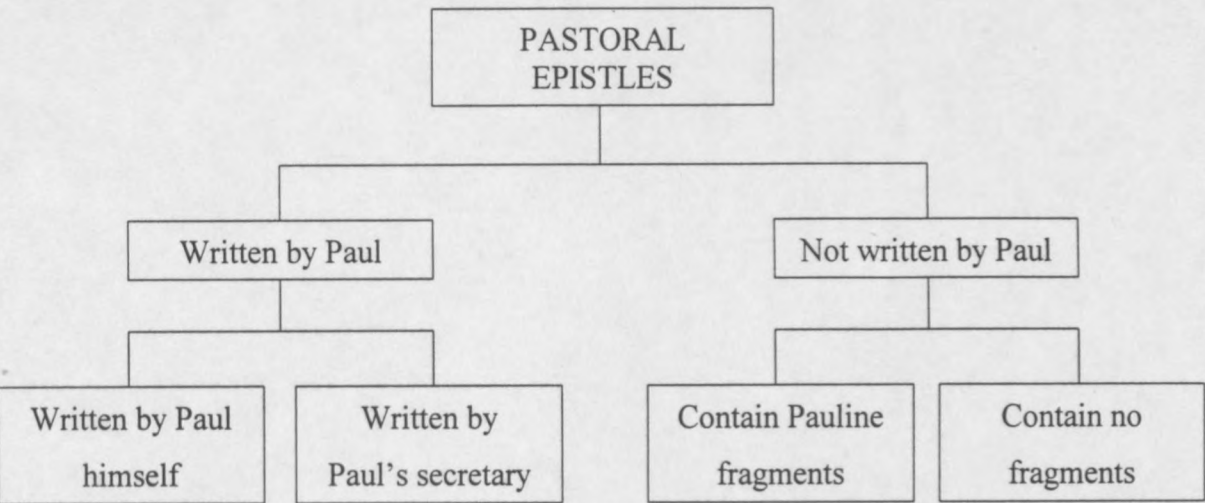
CHAPTER 4
TRANSLATION OF TITUS

1. Introduction to Titus

1.1. Authorship and Date

The authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles has met with more scepticism than any other Pauline epistle. Many leading NT scholars have, with varying degrees of confidence, concluded that Paul could not have written them. Among these, some believe that they are, in their entirety, the work of a pseudonymous author, while others believe that they contain some genuine fragments from lost Pauline letters. In spite of the confidence with which some scholars deny Pauline authorship, a significant group of NT scholars continue to defend the traditional view that Paul is their author, whether he wrote them himself or in co-operation with an amanuensis.⁷⁹ These four views are illustrated in diagram 4.

Diagram 4. Four Views of the Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles



These four views are, from left to right, (a) the authentic hypothesis, (b) the secretary hypothesis, (c) the fragment hypothesis, and (d) the pseudonymous hypothesis.

⁷⁹ The distinction is not that some believe he used an amanuensis while others believe he physically wrote them himself, but that some believe he virtually dictated them while others believe he gave the amanuensis freedom to formulate the content in his own words.

The pseudonymous hypothesis was popularised by Baur (1835) and Holtzmann (1880). It holds that the Pastoral Epistles in their entirety are the work of an anonymous author. The historical allusions to Paul and his associates were fictionalised by the author so as to make the letters appear genuine. In other words, they are merely a literary device used to strengthen the force of the author's message. The fragment hypothesis concurs with the pseudonymous hypothesis that the Pastoral Epistles are the work of an anonymous author. However, it disagrees about the nature of the historical materials, holding that they are genuine historical allusions drawn from lost Pauline letters. The author weaved these fragmented allusions into the tapestry of his own letters. Harrison (1921), the leading proponent of this view, held that three separate fragments could be identified, one of which is found in Titus 3:12-15. Advocates of both these views usually dated the Pastoral Epistles between 90 and 110 C.E.

The secretary and authentic hypotheses both attribute ultimate authorship to Paul,⁸⁰ but take different views on the role played by his amanuensis. The former assumes that Paul was using a different secretary to the one he used in his earlier letters and that he allowed him considerably more freedom in the formulation of ideas. In this way it attempts to account for the differences in vocabulary and style. The latter does not postulate a freer role for the amanuensis. Instead, it seeks to explain the differences in vocabulary and style by appealing to changes in Paul himself, such as his increased age and his having spent some time speaking Latin in the Western part of the Roman empire. Advocates of these two views date the Pastoral Epistles near the end of Paul's life, ca. 63-66 C.E.

Each of these theories has merits; none is without difficulties. Since my goal is to explore how relevance theoretic approaches to translation move from interpretation to translation, there is no need to limit my focus to one view of authorship. Where authorship affects interpretation, I shall discuss both interpretations and how they can be captured in translation.⁸¹

1.2. Occasion and Purpose

1.2.1. Pauline Reconstruction

If Paul is the author of the Pastoral Epistles, their occasion and purpose can be fairly accurately reconstructed. Since their historical allusions cannot be reconciled with Paul's

⁸⁰ Ultimate authorship: the belief that their main content has its original in Paul.

⁸¹ For the most part, Arichea's (1993) argument that the view one holds of the authorship does not affect one's exegetical decisions holds true. However, when it does make a difference, both alternatives will be mentioned.

movements in Acts, we must assume that he was released from the Roman imprisonment described in Acts 28:11-31 and, contrary to his stated intention to proceed to Spain, returned to the east and spent some time ministering in the vicinity of Asia and Macedonia. A probable order of events is that Paul, Timothy, and Titus had spent some time evangelising in the towns of Crete. Paul then left Titus behind to finish the work they had begun while he and Timothy departed for Macedonia, travelling by way of Ephesus (1 Tim 1:3). Encountering problems in the Ephesian church, Paul left Timothy behind and continued to Macedonia. When he arrived in Macedonia he wrote 1 Timothy and Titus to his envoys in Ephesus and Crete.

In general terms, 1 Timothy and Titus were written to remind Timothy and Titus of the instructions Paul had given them before he left and to officially authenticate their authority as his apostolic delegates. In more specific terms, the letters have two main purposes. Firstly, Paul exhorts Timothy and Titus to deal with the false teachings circulating in their churches. Secondly, “Paul gives instructions to the Christians of Ephesus and Crete, through Timothy and Titus, concerning their conduct and church life” (Knight 1992:10).

1.2.2. Pseudepigraphic Reconstruction

If the Pastoral Epistles were written pseudonymously, their historical occasion is impossible to pinpoint because their historical allusions have no direct bearing on their occasion. This is not to say that they are not genuine *ad hoc* documents written with a concrete historical situation—a real problem in a specific place—in mind. It simply means that we have less clues as to what their historical situation was than if they were authentic Pauline letters. We can be fairly confident that they were addressed to historically Pauline churches in Asia Minor, probably around 100 C.E. Since the author wished to show that Paul had addressed the very issues with which the church in his period was struggling, he would surely have addressed them to churches near those he was targeting, thereby maximising their relevance and authority.

But why did an anonymous author pen these three letters? What negative influences in his time (ca. 90-110 C.E.) was he trying to counter? Furthermore, why did he write them in the name of the apostle Paul? Why did he not write them in Peter or John’s name? Gordon Fee (1988:6) summarises the generally accepted answers:

The most common reconstruction sees a combination of three factors to have caused an author to write these letters: the waning of Paul’s influence in the church; the threat of a “Gnostic” form of false teaching; and the need for organizational structures during the church’s transition from an intensely

eschatological community with “charismatic” leadership to a people prepared to settle down to a longer life in the world with more “regular” clergy.⁸²

If the author was a devout disciple of Paul working in the province of Asia among churches Paul had founded and Paul’s influence there was waning, it would explain why he wrote in Paul’s name. Establishing church order seems to be the intermediate purpose, while combating false teaching is the ultimate purpose (Easton 1948). The author regards healthy church government with competent leaders as the key to overcoming heresy.

1.3. False Teaching

Although some contend that what is opposed in the Pastoral Epistles is heresy in general rather than a particular heresy, the general consensus of scholarly opinion is that these letters were written in opposition to a specific false teaching. The question is: What can we deduce from these letters as to the nature and content of the false teaching being opposed?

In the nineteenth century it was common to date the Pastoral Epistles near the middle of the second century and identify its heresy with full-blown Gnosticism of the kind that flourished during the second century. Baur (1835) regarded them as anti-Marcion, but most were less specific, defining the opponents simply as Gnostics (e.g. Holtzmann 1880). This position is no longer popular. Most scholars now agree that the heresy had Gnostic elements, but deny that it was fully developed second century Gnosticism.

The most common view, shared by both adherents and opponents of Pauline authorship, is that the Pastoral Epistles betray a “Jewish-Christian-Gnostic teaching” (Kümmel 1975:379), or, as Kelly (1963:12) puts it, “a Gnosticizing form of Jewish Christianity.” The difference is that if pseudepigraphic all three letters address exactly the same false teaching, whereas if genuine they probably address similar, related errors in two different places, with the possibility of small differences between the form the false teaching takes in Ephesus and Crete. Since the evidence is scant, the best we can do is to paint a composite picture of the false teaching as alluded to in all three letters.

Evidences of Jewish influence. The Pastoral Epistles abound with explicit references to Jewish ingredients in the false teaching. The false teachers belong to the circumcision party (Tit 1:10) and regard themselves as teachers of the law (1 Tim 1:7; Tit 3:9). References to Jewish myths and endless genealogies probably refer to the speculative aspects of

⁸² Not all commentators see all three of these purposes at work, but most agree that one or a combination of them represent the main reason for the writing of these letters.

intertestamental Judaism, while those to ceremonial purity (Tit 1:14-15) and food laws (1 Tim 4:3) also point to common Jewish concerns.

Evidence of Gnostic thought. Although there is no evidence of the highly developed Gnostic systems that came to prominence in the second century, there are some indicators of incipient Gnosticism. The most explicit clue is the denial of future resurrection (2 Tim 2:18), which is surely a reference to the Gnostic dichotomy of matter and spirit. Other clues include an ascetic attitude toward marriage and food (1 Tim 4:3), an allusion to mystical, esoteric knowledge (1 Tim 6:20), and, perhaps, some allusions to speculating “about the order of the ages (1 Tim 1:4; 4:7; Tit 3:9)” (Kummel 1975:378).

Evidence of Christian belief. The evidence also suggests that the false teachers in both Ephesus and Crete were insiders, members of the Christian community. In Titus, both the reference to the false teachers ruining whole households (1:11) and the instruction to Titus to rebuke them (1:13) imply that they were operating within the churches under Titus’ authority. Similarly, the disciplinary instructions in 3:9-11 seem to be aimed at the false teachers, implying that they were members of the Cretan churches.

1.4. Outline of Titus

- A. Introduction (1:1-4)
- B. Preventing false teaching (1:5-16)
 - 1. Criteria for appointing elders (1:5-9)
 - 2. Reason for appointing elders (1:10-16)
- C. Promoting sound doctrine (2:1-3:7)
 - 1. Paraenesis to groups within the church (2:1-10)
 - 2. Theological basis for the paraenesis (2:11-14)
 - 3. Transition (2:15)
 - 4. Paraenesis to the whole church (3:1-2)
 - 5. Theological basis for the paraenesis (3:3-7)
- D. Conclusion (3:8-11)
 - 1. Sound doctrine is profitable (3:8)
 - 2. False teaching is unprofitable (3:9-11)
- E. Closing remarks (3:12-15)
 - 1. Personal instructions (3:12-14)
 - 2. Benediction (3:15)

2. Analysis of Titus

2.1. Titus 1:1-4

2.1.1. Translations

Table 4. Translations of Titus 1:1-4

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
<p>1 Paul, a slave of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, for the faith of God’s elect and the knowledge of the truth, which is in accordance with godliness, 2 and because of the hope of eternal life. God, who does not lie, promised this life before the beginning of time. 3 Then at the right moment he revealed his message through preaching, which was entrusted to me by the command of God our Saviour.</p> <p>4 To Titus, my true child in our common faith.</p> <p>Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour.</p>	<p>1 From Paul, a servant of God and an envoy of Jesus Christ, sent to further the faith of God’s chosen people and the knowledge of the truth, which is in accordance with godliness, 2 and to promote the confident expectation of eternal life. God, who does not lie, promised this life before the beginning of time. 3 Then at the right moment he made his message of life known and entrusted me with the task of preaching it. I received this ministry by the command of God our Saviour.</p> <p>4 To Titus, my loyal son in our common faith.</p> <p>May God the Father and Jesus Christ our Saviour give you grace and peace.</p>

2.1.2. Discourse Unit

The conventions of Greco-Roman letter writing mark the boundaries of the discourse unit. Stowers (1996) describes these conventions as follows:

The ancient prescript typically contained three elements: the name of the sender, the addressee, and a salutation (for example, “Diogenes to Isias, greetings”)....

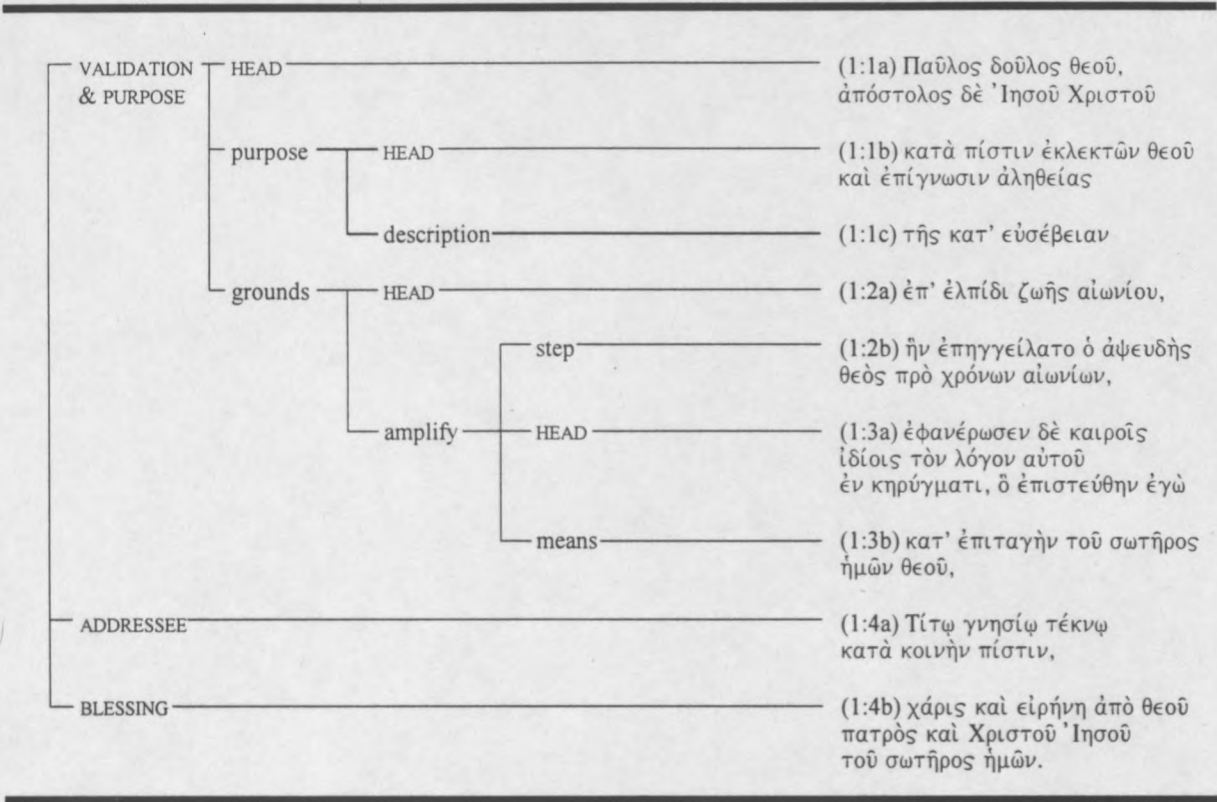
These basic elements could be amplified and elaborated in many ways.

The present example is a standard Pauline opening with a rather lengthy amplification concerning the author.

The three formal elements of the opening of the letter form the three head statements of the unit, with 1:1b-3c amplifying on the apostolic ministry of the sender. From a diagramming perspective, the crucial proposition in the unit is 1:2a. One option is to treat it as being

semantically co-ordinate with 1:1b, supplying the reason that Paul was appointed as an apostle of Jesus Christ (diagram 5). Alternatively, it could be subordinate to 1:1b, describing the basis (i.e. grounds) of Christian hope and knowledge.⁸³ The analysis of 1:2b-3b depends on how 1:2a is interpreted. If 1:2a is treated as being co-ordinate with 1:1b, then 1:2b-3b serves as an amplification of 1:2a, explaining the sense in which Paul's apostleship is based on the hope of eternal life—God had entrusted the message of life to him. If 1:2a is subordinate to 1:1b, then 1:2b-3b could still be treated as an amplification of 1:2a, explaining that Christian faith and knowledge are grounded in the promise and revelatory work of God. However, it could also be treated as an amplification of 1:1a, explaining how Paul obtained his apostolic ministry.

Diagram 5. Semantic Structure of Titus 1:1-4



2.1.3. Commentary

(1:1a) Παῦλος δοῦλος θεοῦ ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In accordance with Greco-Roman letter writing conventions, Παῦλος is a nominative absolute used to identify the author of the letter. Since modern letters use a different convention for identifying the author, an indirect translation should make the communicative function of *Paul* clear; the easiest way is to render it as *from Paul*.

⁸³ Banker (1994:17) favours the second analysis, but sees it as expressing result rather than grounds.

δοῦλος θεοῦ stands in apposition to Παῦλος as the first of two self-designatory terms intended to add authority to the letter. Here δοῦλος θεοῦ is equivalent to the more common δοῦλος Χριστοῦ; the change is probably due to the following ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. δοῦλος referred to a slave as opposed to a free man (BAGD s.v. δοῦλος 1.b), with the connotation of complete subservience to his master's will (Rengstorf 1985); the assumption schema associated with the word would naturally be drawn from Greco-Roman slavery. However, the LXX used δουλῶς and its cognates to denote someone who served God. This usage would have originally derived its implicatures from the Hebrew concept of slavery as delineated in the OT. The imagery behind δοῦλος θεοῦ probably originates in the Exodus where Israel, out of gratitude to God for delivering them from bondage in Egypt, voluntarily became his slaves (bondservants). In the LXX, δοῦλος θεοῦ denotes one who serves God with total but voluntary commitment. As a designation, it is a title of honour conferred upon men who serve God with total dedication, designating someone who by virtue of his relationship with his master can act with his master's authority. The implicatures of Greco-Roman slavery—the master's ownership and the slave's complete dependence—still apply, but the focus is on service rendered rather than subjection experienced.

As far as translation is concerned, *bondservant*, denoting voluntary subservience, is the most accurate term but is unattractive because it is archaic. This leaves *servant* and *slave* as the remaining options. The long standing debate over which is best is summed up in these words by Hendriksen (1957:340, n. 187)

In favor of *slave* is the fact that Paul's Master *has bought* him, hence *owns* him, and that the apostle *is completely dependent* upon this Master, a relation of which he is fully aware. On the other hand, this very rendering is jarring to our ears because the word "slave" generally conveys to our minds the idea of *involuntary service* and *harsh treatment*.

In other words, the problem with *slave* is that it conveys implicatures associated with modern forms of slavery but foreign to ancient slavery.⁸⁴ Consequently, the modern assumption schema associated with the word *slave* suggests that its use in an indirect translation would distort the implicatures of the text. *Servant* may fail to convey several of those implicatures, but at least it remains true to the primary idea of voluntary service. In a direct translation, by

⁸⁴ Not that *involuntary service* and *harsh treatment* were not part of Greco-Roman slavery, for they certainly were. However, unlike American slavery, Greco-Roman slavery and especially OT Hebrew slavery had some positive implicatures that American slavery did not. Whereas the ancients would have recognised that only the positive nuances of slavery were intended here, Westerners fail to see any positive implicatures of slavery.

contrast, the only way to communicate the presumption of complete interpretive resemblance is to translate *slave* and then help readers to appreciate the implicatures of the term in the first century. In relevance theoretic terms, *slave* is said to have the same logical entry as δοῦλος; differences between their encyclopaedic entries are overcome by means of a lexical note. Since indirect translation presumes the receptor context, it cannot match logical entries and rectify encyclopaedic differences; it must take both kinds of entries into account and use the English word with the nearest combination of logical and encyclopaedic entries.

ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ represents a second designation of Παῦλος. Heckert (1996) describes δέ as a marker of development. Here it joins two almost synonymous noun phrases (Rengstorf 1985), namely, *slave of God* and *apostle of Jesus Christ*. The second designation amplifies the first, serving as “a more specific designation of Paul’s office” (Greenlee 1989:9). Richards (1985:60) defines ἀπόστολος as “an envoy, sent on a mission to speak for the one sending him and having the sender’s authority.” Since *apostle* is an ecclesiastically nuanced term, the implicatures of which are little understood by modern readers, *envoy* is attractive for an indirect translation.

(1:1b) κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας. κατὰ with the accusative is an awkward preposition to handle in translation because it tends to express a rather vague, highly context-dependent relationship between what it modifies and what it governs. Although it often functions as a marker of standard, that meaning is impossible here (Banker 1994:19-20). The logical connection between 1:1a and 1:1b is surely that the reason or purpose for which the Lord appointed Paul as an apostle was to promote πίστιν and ἐπίγνωσιν (Banker 1994; Fee 1988; Knight 1992; Quinn 1990). κατὰ thus functions as a marker of purpose or reason.

πίστιν: *the faith*. A noun following a preposition does not need the article to make it definite (cf. Wallace 1996:247). πίστιν can be understood objectively as the content of belief (Banker 1994) or subjectively as personal commitment to God (Knight 1992). θεοῦ in ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ is a subjective genitive; thus, *God’s elect* means *the people God has chosen*. ἀληθείας in ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας is an objective genitive; thus *the knowledge of the truth* means *knowing the truth*.

Both πίστις (33x) and ἀληθεία (14x) are thematic words in the Pastoral Epistles. According to Towner (1989:121, 122), they are the only “two terms [that] describe the whole

matrix of objective data of which the Christian religion consists”; both denote “the sum total of orthodox doctrine” and “the content of ‘the faith’ in an inclusive sense.”⁸⁵

(1:1c) τῆς κατ’ εὐσέβειαν. The genitive feminine article τῆς makes the prepositional phrase κατ’ εὐσέβειαν an attributive modifier of ἀληθείας. εὐσέβεια: *godliness, piety, reverence*. In general Hellenistic usage, εὐσέβεια indicated “fulfilment of obligations and resultant acceptability to God” (Richards 1985:315). The εὐσεβ- word group is thematic in the Pastoral Epistles (13x). Towner (1989:147-52) shows that the word group embraced an array of assumptions; basically, they refer to an attitude of reverence or respect toward God which issues from knowledge and results in godly conduct, that is, fulfilling one’s duties toward God. The resultant godly lifestyle is the explicature; reverence and knowledge are implicatures. Foerster (1985) says that they denote “a manner of life” that “covers everyday conduct in honoring God.” He argues that they refer to the kind of conduct that is in accordance with sound doctrine, in contrast to false teaching, and would “elicit a favorable verdict from non-Christians who set store by it.”

κατά indicates that *truth* is somehow related to *godliness*. The connection could be that truth leads to godliness (Knight 1992). This would mean that κατά a marker of purpose. The logic would be that Paul is an apostle in order to promote knowledge of the truth, which in turn promotes godliness. In favour of this interpretation are that both occurrences of κατά in 1:1 would serve the same function and that the ideology of the letter presupposes that sound doctrine produces godly conduct. Alternatively, κατά could be a marker of standard implying that *the truth* (the gospel) conforms to Greco-Roman ideals of *godliness* (how people should conduct themselves) (Alford 1856; Fee 1988; Hiebert 1978; Lenski 1946; Scott 1936). Two arguments support this view. Firstly, it represents the normal use of κατά when followed by a word that denotes some sort of standard. Secondly, the dominant ethic of the letter is one of conformity to existing social values. The fact that the gospel conforms to prevailing ideas of godliness fits this theme perfectly.

The first interpretation is clearly expressed by the NIV’s *that leads to godliness*. The second interpretation is more difficult to convey. Of the literal translations, the NRSV’s *which is in accordance with godliness* conveys the idea of conformity to a standard most clearly. Readers familiar with the historical context of the letter should be able to infer that the gospel conforms to traditional moral values rather than threatening them. Readers without that

⁸⁵ This generalisation naturally applies only to those occasions on which πίστις is used to denote the content of the Christian faith (i.e. when it is used objectively).

knowledge would still realise that *the truth* conforms to some standard of godly conduct, though they would not appreciate its importance in the Cretan situation. The communication problems are partly due to the fact that εὐσεβεία was primarily a secular term whereas *godliness* is an ecclesiastical term. This obscures the author's point that the gospel reinforces secular moral values.

(1:2a) ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου. The number of suggestions as to the semantic force of ἐπί are almost as plentiful as the number of commentators, yet they can be summarised under two main views. Some argue that it modifies 1:1a—Paul's apostleship. They regard ἐπί as parallel to κατά in 1:1b, expressing another reason or purpose for Paul's apostolic ministry (Barrett 1963; Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Kelly 1963; Scott 1936; Towner 1994). Paul was appointed as an apostle because the hope of eternal life is realised through the message God entrusted to him. Others connect it with 1:1b—faith and knowledge (Alford 1856; Banker 1994; Fee 1988; Hiebert 1978; Lea and Griffin 1992; White n.d.). The hope of eternal life represents either the *grounds* of Christian faith and knowledge (Hiebert 1978; White n.d.) or the *result* of faith and knowledge (Banker 1994).⁸⁶ The first interpretation, which takes 1:1b-3b as an amplification of Paul's apostolic ministry, seems to fit the immediate context best, substantiating the apostolic authority of the letter.

An indirect translation should reduce the interpretive burden placed on its readers by selecting one meaning and making it clear. Ideally, a direct translation would reproduce the linguistic ambiguity of the Greek text, allowing the readers access to all the interpretations that can be derived from the Greek text. However, this is not possible because no English preposition shares the semantic range of ἐπί. Most literal translations try *in (the) hope of eternal life* (NASB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV) and punctuate with commas after 1:1a and 1:1c, which gives the impression that the κατά and ἐπί phrases are parallel modifiers of 1:1a, but also creates the impression that Paul's apostolic service is based on the hope of receiving eternal life rather than on fact that the message of eternal life was committed to him. Rendering *because of the hope of eternal life* leaves both the above possibilities open, while suggesting the latter as the likelier. The alternate interpretation—that 1:2a modifies 1:1b rather than 1:1c—then needs to be supplied in a note; the GNB or NIV are examples of how the note could read.

ἐλπίς: *hope, expectation, prospect* (BAGD s.v. 1). The word denotes "the expectation of something good" (Richards 1985:344). ἐλπίς does not necessarily imply doubt about

⁸⁶ A full discussion of the alternatives can be found in Banker 1994:21-23.

whether the expectation will be fulfilled. In many instances the eventual reception of what is hoped for is assured; it is hoped for only in the sense of being eagerly awaited—the time of its reception is looked forward to with eager anticipation. When used with reference to God’s promises or his salvation, its focus is always on forward looking anticipation of the time when believers’ assured hope will be realised. ζωῆς αἰωνίου is the object of believers’ hope. Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972:150) contend that ἐλπίς ζωῆς αἰωνίου “constitutes a formulaic entity in itself; therefore, it cannot be divided into its constituent parts.”⁸⁷ Thus ἐλπίς ζωῆς αἰωνίου may well be a circumlocution for *eternal life* (cf. 3:7).

It may seem that an indirect translation should not translate ἐλπίς as *hope* because the logical entry for *hope* includes a component of uncertainty about the realisation of that hope. However, what transformed ἐλπίς from *hope* to *confident expectation* in religious texts was an ideological assumption that God’s promises were sure to be fulfilled. If modern readers share that assumption, *the hope of eternal life* will communicate effectively. Here the immediate co-text speaks of God’s promises and their fulfilment, thus supplying the necessary background schema. So one can translate ἐλπίς with either *hope* or *confident expectation*. I have used the latter to minimise the interpretive burden upon the reader and to retain coherence with 3:7b.

(1:2b) ἦν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεὸς πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων. Although there are other ways of analysing it,⁸⁸ I understand the flow of thought in the passage as follows: 1:2a supplies a reason for Paul’s apostolic ministry, and 1:2b-3b then amplifies that reason, explaining how *the hope of eternal life* serves as a grounds for his ministry.⁸⁹ In essence, he argues that he is an apostle of Jesus Christ because God has entrusted the gospel to him; he was commissioned to preach the message that brings the hope of eternal life. Thus the whole of 1:2b-3b, by virtue of elaborating on a grounds proposition, is itself an indirect grounds statement for 1:1a.

The relation between this proposition and the following one is chronological, moving from the promise of eternal life to its realisation. Banker (1994:17) correctly categorises the semantic relationship between them as a step-GOAL relationship.

⁸⁷ Technically, this would make ζωῆς a genitive of apposition (i.e. *hope = life*).

⁸⁸ In particular, compare Banker 1994:17.

⁸⁹ Banker (1994:17) sees 1:2a as modifying 1:1b instead of 1:1a. Consequently, he treats 1:2b-3c as an amplification of 1:1a rather than 1:2b. In other words, the whole analysis of the structure of 1:1-3 depends upon the role assigned to the ἐπί phrase in 1:2a.

Although BAGD offer *truthful* and *trustworthy* as glosses for ἀψευδής, all translations correctly render it with *who does not lie* because the focus is on the reliability of God's promise. The fact that God does not lie adds veracity to his promise and makes the hope of eternal life a sure expectation. Such eminent scholars as Lock (1924) and Robertson (1931) believe πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων refers to OT promises, but the evidence certainly favours taking it as a reference to "the eternal counsels of God" (Fee 1988:168; cf. Banker 1994; Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Guthrie 1957; Hendriksen 1957; Kelly 1963; Knight 1992; Lea and Griffin 1992; Quinn 1990). This suggests that renderings like *before the beginning of time* or *from all eternity* are better than *long (ages) ago* (CEV, NASB).

(1:3a) ἐφάνερωσεν δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίους τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐν κηρύγματι, ὃ ἐπιστεύθη ἐγώ. This statement is the core of the amplification section (1:2b-3b). It clarifies ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου (1:2a), making clear that Paul's apostleship is based on the hope of eternal life in that God has entrusted the task of proclaiming the message that produces eternal life to him. δέ is a marker of development (Heckert 1996); here the development takes the form of temporal progression from promise to fulfilment, indicating a step-GOAL relationship with the preceding clause.

φανερῶω: "to make manifest or visible or known what has been hidden or unknown" (Thayer 1981:648). καιροῖς ἰδίους is a dative of time indicating a point in time when the action of the main verb is accomplished. The plural is idiomatic; like the singular καιρῷ ἰδίῳ (Gal 6:9), it means *at the right time/moment* (BAGD s.v. καιρός 2; Wallace 1996:157, n. 50). The contrast between *before the beginning of time* (1:2b) and *at the right time* (1:3a) accentuates the move from promise to fulfilment. ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in the Pastoral Epistles "denotes the gospel message" (Towner 1989:124), which has God as its source and salvation (= eternal life) as the purpose of its proclamation. κηρύγμα: "proclamation, preaching by a herald sent by God" (BAGD s.v. 2). In the Pauline epistles κηρύγμα is a technical term denoting both the *act* and the *content* of preaching (Lea and Griffin 1992:271). If κηρύγμα here focused on content, ἐν would mean *in*, that is, *in the form of a proclamation*. However, since τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ indicates content, ἐν κηρύγματι is more likely an expression of means, hence *through preaching* (Banker 1994; Hendriksen 1957; Knight 1992; Lea and Griffin 1992).

The relative ὃ agrees with κηρύγματι in 1:3a. Grammatically, it is an accusative of retained object (Zerwick 1990:§72). If ἐπιστεύθη were active, ἐγώ and ὃ would have been the person and thing objects in a double-accusative of person-thing. ἐπιστεύθη is a divine

passive; ἐγώ emphasises the subject. Thus God entrusted the task of preaching the gospel to Paul.

Although the interpretation of this paragraph is not heavily dependent on knowledge of the external context, the complex relationship between its propositions needs to be simplified in translation. Breaking it up into short sentences helps to simplify the flow of thought. Beginning a new sentence at 1:2b shows that 1:1b and 1:2a belong together as modifiers of 1:1a. Explicating *this life* as the object of *promised* in the sentence that renders 1:2b helps to show that 1:2b-3a represent an amplification of the reason for Paul's apostleship that was stated in 1:2a. Rendering δέ (1:3a) as *then* marks the chronological development from 1:2b to 1:3a. The remainder of verse 3 is rendered freely in the indirect translation to make it clear that Paul is an apostle because God has entrusted him with the responsibility of preaching the message that produces eternal life.

(1:3b) κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ. κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, literally *in accordance with the command*, is semantically equivalent to *by command* (BAGD s.v. ἐπιταγή; Knight 1992:285). The same phrase occurs in 1 Tim 1:1 where Paul is described as ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ (*an apostle of Christ Jesus in accordance with the command of God*). κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ also serves to substantiate Paul's apostolic authority (1:1a) on the basis that it has its origin in God's command. The word order of τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ emphasises τοῦ σωτῆρος. A translation can try to capture this emphasis either by italicising *our Saviour* or following the word order of the Greek text and rendering *our Saviour, God*. I have opted to use neither method. The same phrase is used in 2:10 and 3:4. Although italics would be all right in 1:3, if used in 2:10 and 3:4 they would draw too much attention to the word *Saviour*, thereby detracting from the main thrust of the argument.⁹⁰ The alternative, retaining the word order of the original, is better. However, it requires breaking the flow of the sentence in 2:10 and 3:4—the name of God would have to be offset between commas.⁹¹ Therefore, I decided provide *our Saviour, God* as an alternate rendering in my direct translation and to forego any emphasis on *Saviour* in my indirect translation.

⁹⁰ The author's use of unusual word order in the Greek text makes *Saviour* more prominent than *God*, but does not make it the most prominent part of the entire clause. Italicising it would make it appear to be the most prominent part of the clause.

⁹¹ Of course, *our Saviour God* (without a comma before *God*) is unacceptable because it makes *Saviour* sound like an attributive modifier of *our God*.

(1:4a) Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν. The dative Τίτῳ identifies Titus as the recipient of the letter. τέκνον, *child*, denotes “a special relationship of endearment” (LN §9.46) without reference to gender or age. γνήσιος, *true, genuine, real*, emphasises that he is loyal son, committed to his father and true to his teachings. Thus γνησίῳ τέκνῳ does not focus on the fact that Titus is Paul’s own convert, but on the fact that he is a true and dear spiritual son. κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν: *in a common faith*.

τέκνον can be rendered with either *child* or *son*. In English *child* is seldom used of someone Titus’ age, though elderly women sometimes use it as a term of endearment, as in the colloquial idiom *my dear child*. Thus *child* conveys the nuance of endearment slightly better, while *son* is slightly more natural. Any of *loyal, true, or genuine* captures that force of γνησίῳ.

(1:4b) χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. This is a formulaic prayer for blessing upon the recipients of the letter; it is common to all Paul’s letters. A direct translation would assume familiarity with this letter writing convention and render literally, even though this produces an incomplete sentence. An indirect translation communicates better if it explicates the fact that this is a prayer and makes it into a grammatically complete sentence (CEV, GNB, NLT).

2.2. Titus 1:5-9

2.2.1. Translations

Table 5. Translations of Titus 1:5-9

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
5 For this purpose I left you in Crete: so that you would put in order what remains to be done and appoint elders in every city, as I directed you. 6 An elder must be blameless—a faithful husband with loyal children who are not subject to an accusation of being wild or rebellious. 7 For an overseer must be blameless as <i>God’s</i> steward, not stubborn, not quick-tempered, not a heavy drinker, not violent, and not greedy for shameful gain, 8 but a <i>helper of strangers</i> , a lover of good,	5 The reason I left you in Crete was to finish the work we began and to appoint church leaders in every city, according to the guidelines I laid down for you. 6 An elder must be blameless. He must be a faithful husband and his children must be loyal, not liable to be accused of living recklessly or disobeying his authority. 7 An overseer must be blameless because he is in charge of <i>God’s</i> household. He must not be arrogant in his opinions or easily angered or a heavy drinker

self-controlled, upright, holy, and self-disciplined. 9 He must hold fast to the trustworthy message based on the teaching, so that he will be able both to exhort believers to follow its sound doctrine and to correct anyone who opposes it.	or violent or greedy for money. 8 Instead, he should help strangers and love good; he should be self-controlled, upright, holy, and self-disciplined. 9 He must hold firmly to the trustworthy message based on the authoritative teaching of the apostles so that he will be able both to teach sound doctrine and to correct those who oppose it.
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2.2.2. Discourse Unit

The transition from the formulaic blessing at the end of the introductory section of the letter to the beginning of its body in 1:5 marks the opening boundary of the unit. Within 1:5-9, 1:6-9 coheres as a code of instructions pertaining to qualifications for church leaders. The question is whether 1:5 should be treated together with 1:6-9 or separate from it. In 1:5 the author introduces the two main topics of the letter: (a) completing unfinished tasks and (b) appointing elders. The second of these is then developed in 1:6-9, while the latter is developed in 1:10-3:11.⁹² This favours separating 1:5 from 1:6-9. However, there is considerable skewing between form and meaning in the original text. Rather than being grammatically separate, 1:6 is directly dependent on 1:5.⁹³ Since the author made no attempt to separate these components, it makes sense to analyse them as a unit.

The semantic structure of this unit can be analysed differently from what is shown in diagram 6. Banker (1994:30) treats 1:5b as a means proposition, with the two purpose clauses in 1:5c-d being the head propositions of the paragraph.⁹⁴ I opted to follow the form of the Greek text and label 1:5b as a head proposition because it is the main clause in 1:5. However, I have capitalised 1:5c-d to show that their semantic prominence is greater than their grammatical form suggests. Banker (1994:34) also analyses 1:6-9 somewhat differently. He uses the three categories of instructions, namely, an elder's family life (1:6), personal character (1:7-8), and doctrinal soundness (1:9) as head sections. I again preferred to follow

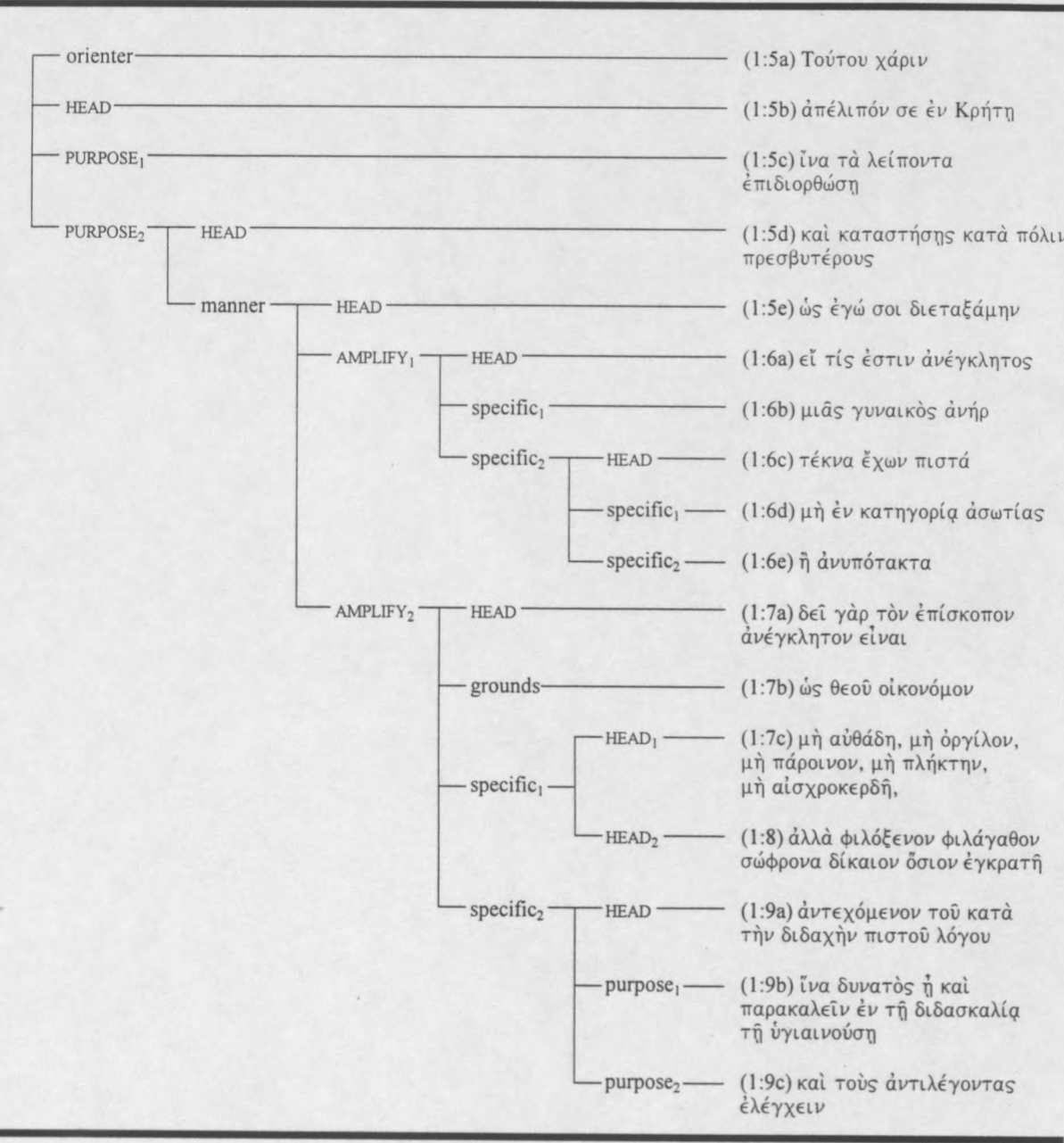
⁹² The same structural relationship occurs between 1:9 and 1:10-3:11. In 1:9 the author introduces two topics which are developed in reverse order in 1:10-16 and 2:1-3:11.

⁹³ 1:6 commences with a conditional clause which has as its logical apodosis the second half of the *ἵνα* clause in 1:5, namely, *καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους*.

⁹⁴ Banker's numbering is slightly different from mine because he does not divide 1:5a-b or 1:5d-e into two propositions each.

the grammatical structure more closely, treating 1:6-9 as an amplification (restatement) of Paul’s oral instructions, which are alluded to in 1:5e. Following this approach, it is natural to diagram 1:6 and 1:7-9—two separate sentences, both emphasising the qualification of blamelessness—as the two main amplifications. Within the latter section, topical allusions to character qualifications (1:7-8) are separated from those to doctrinal qualifications (1:9).

Diagram 6. Semantic Structure of Titus 1:5-9



2.2.3. Commentary

(1:5a). Τούτου χάριν. χάριν is a postpositive (BDF §216) adverbial preposition used as a marker of reason or purpose (BAGD; LN §89.29, 60); these two notions are almost indistinguishable in the present context, though if it is necessary to specify one for academic

reasons the following ἵνα clause would make the latter likelier. The prepositional phrase τούτου χάριν, though made semantically redundant by the ἵνα clause that follows, serves as a cataphoric device adding marked prominence to the purpose statements that follow (note that they are capitalised in diagram 6). The tendency of several modern translations (CEV, GNB, NLT) to leave it untranslated, thereby reducing the marked stress on the purpose statements that follow, is unfortunate, especially since something like *the reason I left you in Crete* (NET, NIV) is perfectly natural English.

(1:5b) ἀπέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ. The main clause ἀπέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ is straightforwardly rendered *I left you in Crete*. Of the variants for ἀπέλιπον, the more difficult and well attested ἀπέλειπον (Western and Alexandrian witnesses) is best explained as an itacism (Elliot 1968:172-163; Metzger 1956:150; Quinn 1990:77)⁹⁵ and the MT reading κατέλιπον as a harmonisation with the more common NT usage. None of these variants affect the interpretation of the passage, so they need not be mentioned in translation; to do so would unnecessarily increase the processing effort. The verb ἀπολείπω implicitly conveys the notions of (a) a definite *purpose* (Lock 1924:129; LN 85.65), (b) a *temporary* assignment (White n.d.:186), and (c) a previous *presence*, that is, leaving *behind* (Fee 1988:176; Houlden 1976:141; Knight 1992:287). These implicatures do not need to be explicated since the same implicatures are present if the text is translated *I left you in Crete*. Quinn's (1990:76) translation *I let you remain on Crete* is an attempt to retain the play on the words ἀπολείπω and λείπω (λείποντα), but also conveys the added implicature that it was Titus' idea to stay behind and Paul merely consented. Since this added implicature is missing from the Greek text, it is better to simply forego the wordplay (which is not strongly marked). A direct translation should supply background information about the island of Crete and its inhabitants.

(1:5c) ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ. The ἵνα clause develops the prepositional phrase τούτου χάριν (Knight 1992:287); it stands in apposition to τούτου and states the purpose implied by χάριν. Since the ἵνα clause itself expresses purpose, it makes τούτου χάριν semantically redundant except that it draws attention to the purpose statements.

τὰ λείποντα, literally *the things lacking* (Quinn 1990:78; Knight 1992:288) or *what is lacking* (BAGD), refers to tasks begun but not yet completed during Paul's stay in Crete (Litfin 1985). ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, a NT hapax, is best regarded as an aorist middle subjunctive

⁹⁵ The NET (1996, n. 6) argues for ἀπέλειπον as original on the grounds that it is the more difficult reading and ἀπέλιπον represents a scribal attempt to harmonise it with other Pauline uses of -λείπω verbs, which are never in the imperfect.

second person singular (Mounce 1993:204). ἐπιδιορθόω means *set right, correct, set in order*; according to Howard (1929:313), the preposition ἐπί in compound implies *in addition*, hence the implication of completing a task previously begun. All the major translations are quite effective here, though I think *finish the work we begun*, as an indirect translation, is clearer than any of them; it explicates neatly the implicature that Paul and Titus had begun but not finished the task.

(1:5d) καὶ καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. The semantic role of this proposition in the flow of the argument depends on the meaning attributed to καί, whether epexegetical or copulative. Among those who view it as an epexegetical καί, Hendriksen's (1957:345) view that 1:5c and 1:5d are identical, with the appointing of elders being the only unfinished task the author has in mind, is unlikely. Lea and Griffin's (1992:276) view that 1:5d is a subset of 1:5c is better: "Paul intended for Titus to take care of several unfinished tasks referred to in the body of the letter.... However, Paul's primary task for Titus was the appointment of elders."⁹⁶ Thus the construction highlights 1:5d as the single most important aspect of 1:5c. However, as Banker (1994:31) has shown, καί is probably copulative rather than epexegetical, with 1:5c and 1:5d indicating two separate tasks. Several arguments converge in support of this interpretation. Firstly, the bulk of the letter deals with other matters, while appointing elders occupies only four verses. Secondly, appointing elders was probably not a task already begun; thus it would not fall under τὰ λείποντα. Finally, the book is structured in a series of chiasms (Banker 1994:16).⁹⁷ The author introduces two topics, then proceeds to discuss the second topic first, later returning to the first topic. This implies that 1:5c and 1:5d are separate topics that are developed in 1:6-9 and 1:10-3:11 respectively. So the structure is as follows:

- A. Finish the work we begun (1:5c)
- B. Appoint elders in every city (1:5d)
- B. Details about appointing elders (1:6-9)
- A. Details about finishing the work (1:10-3:11)

Since the English conjunction *and* can serve the same functions as καί, there is no need for any translation to make this relation explicit, though doing so would help an indirect translation to reduce processing effort and increase the likelihood of achieving the correct

⁹⁶ The plural τὰ λείποντα supports this suggestion that multiple tasks are in view.

⁹⁷ The same structure recurs in 1:9b-c and 2:1-3:11. 1:9b-c introduce respectively the topics of sound doctrine and church discipline, which are developed in inverse order in 1:10-16 and 2:1-3:11.

cognitive effects. The REB's *and in particular should appoint elders* illustrates the exegetical understanding of *καί*, while I have simply repeated the marker of purpose (the infinitival *to*) to accentuate the distinction between the two tasks, thus illustrating the alternate interpretation.

καταστήσης (aorist subjunctive of καθίστημι) means *ordain* or *appoint* (Knight 1992:288). This verb is used regularly by Clement of appointing elders, bishops, and deacons (1 Clem 42:4-5, 43:1, 44:2-3, and 54:2). Although Titus is to do the appointing, it does not eliminate the possibility of the congregation being involved in the process, as in Acts 6:1-6 (Knight 1992:288). *κατά* in *κατὰ πόλιν* is used distributively (BAGD s.v. II.1.d) with the sense of *in every city* or *city by city*.

πρεσβυτέρους, the object of καταστήσης, is a crucial term. The basic meaning of πρεσβύτερος is *older man* or *elder*, but in the context of NT church organisation, it "is a technical term signifying a *church leader* ... carried over from the synagogue, which probably served as a limited model for the early church organization" (Lea and Griffin 1992:277; cf. Davies 1996; Mappes 1997a; Towner 1989). In the Ancient Near East leadership in all spheres of life fell on the senior men of the community (Bruce 1996; Wright 1996). When synagogues were formed during the Diaspora it was natural for them to be run by groups of elders (senior men), with a presiding elder among them (Thompson 1986:347). By NT times the word is used as a title for office-bearers, those who hold positions of authority in the community (Bornkamm 1985), though the connotation of *senior male* is still present since such offices were almost exclusively reserved for senior men.⁹⁸ The reason that leadership was largely the domain of older men was that the ancients valued tradition and resisted change or novelty (McVann 1993a:17). Older people were regarded as wise because they were those most familiar with the valued traditions; therefore, they were the people best qualified for leadership (Davies 1996:74; Hanson 1993:142-147; McVann 1993b:70-74).⁹⁹ Glasscock (1987:67-68) argues that nobody under 30 years of age would be accepted as a spiritual leader in ancient society; most elders would actually be quite a lot older than 30. In the NT church, charismatic gifting was an important consideration for spiritual leadership, but it did not eliminate the cultural norm that an elder be a senior man with plenty life-experience

⁹⁸ In the Greco-Roman world, this trend was changing. For example, several women are known to have functioned as household patrons and heads of cultic associations (White 1996).

⁹⁹ Contrast this with Western society which values novelty and progress; as a result, it looks down on older people as those whose knowledge is out of touch with modern trends.

(cf. 1 Tim 4:12). Thus πρεσβύτερος conveys the assumption schema of a senior male, usually a family head, who holds a civil or religious leadership office in the community.

How should πρεσβυτέρους be translated? In a direct translation it is best to retain the literal gloss *elders* and supply the cultural background of what elders were and what they did in a footnote. In an indirect translation the gloss *elders* should be avoided. For modern readers who have a church background, the term *elder* often conveys a completely different assumption schema to πρεσβυτέρους, and the assumption schema involved differs depending on a given reader's church affiliation. For readers without a church background, *elder* is a largely meaningless term; it will increase processing effort and reduce cognitive effects. Therefore, it is best to explicate the central component, perhaps *church leaders/officers* (CEV) or simply *leaders*, and accept the loss of some implicatures.

(1:5e) ὡς ἐγώ σοι διευταξάμην. This proposition describes the manner in which 1:5d must be done, ὡς functioning as a comparative conjunction of manner (BAGD s.v. I.1); Hendriksen (1957:344) suggests paraphrasing it “in such a manner as.” In this instance, the notion of manner is semantically equivalent to that of a *standard* or *norm*, which could be explicated (paraphrased) *appoint elders in accordance with the principles [standards] I have laid down* (REB). Although Turner (1963:37) regards ἐγώ as a simple epistolary convention (unemphatic), most commentators regard it as emphatic (Knight 1992:289; Quinn 1990:78). The emphasis may reflect an attempt to assert Pauline standards in contrast to those of someone else (Lock 1924:129). Titus must appoint elders according to *Paul's* instructions and not according to anyone else's.¹⁰⁰ If the middle διευταξάμην is deemed to imply subject focus, the emphatic translation *as I myself instructed* is appropriate; if not, perhaps *as I instructed* (with *I* italicised) is best.

διευταξάμην (aorist middle of διατάσσω) means “to give detailed instructions as to what must be done” (LN §33.325), hence to *instruct* or *direct*. The word combines connotations of explanation and command, the latter mainly through the context of one in authority instructing one under his authority. The aorist points to instructions already given orally. The middle may be identical to an active or may add a slight nuance of further emphasis (see discussion of ἐγώ above).

(1:6a) εἰ τίς ἐστιν ἀνέγκλητος. This clause begins the amplification of the instructions just mentioned; 1:6-9 expresses the content of διευταξάμην (1:5e). Thus 1:5e is

¹⁰⁰ If written to reassert Pauline authority in the second-century, the point is to emphasise the true Pauline model of eldership as opposed to other contemporary models. If written by Paul, it may imply competing notions of what standards are required for elders.

closely connected with both 1:5d and 1:6a, as is indicated by the fact that some translations punctuate so as to include it with 1:5a-d (NIV, NLT), others so as to include it with 1:6a (CEV, GNB), and others to imply both connections (NASB, NRSV, REB). Regardless of the punctuation a translation prefers, the meaning should be clear.

Grammatically, 1:6 takes the form of a conditional clause with its apodosis omitted (Knight 1992:289).¹⁰¹ This is a kind of ellipsis known as aposiopesis (BDF §482). Though the communicative clue to the original readers was presumably clear, when this construction is reproduced, English readers may find it unnatural and confusing (NASB, NKJV, RSV). A more natural English idiom is required. If a direct translation wishes to retain the conditional clause, it needs to supply an apodosis (e.g. *if anyone is blameless ..., appoint such a man as an elder*). A simpler solution is to make the imperatival notion implied by διευταξάμην (1:5) and δεῖ (1:7) explicit, such as *an elder must be blameless* (NIV). The NRSV rendering, *as I directed you: someone who is blameless*, is another reasonable solution; by placing 1:6a in apposition to 1:5e, it retains a higher level of formal equivalence, but is slightly less natural than the NIV. This is a good example of how direct translation can *reformulate* communicative clues so as to make linguistically implicit information explicit. It does not transfer the clues literally, but produces a natural receptor language communicative clue that yields the same interpretation when interpreted in the original context.

εἴ τις is equivalent to ὃς ἐάν, hence *everyone who* or *whoever* (BAGD s.v. εἰ VII). The switch from the plural πρεσβυτέρους (1:5d) to the singular εἴ τις probably indicates a switch to traditional material, the so-called bishop code (Towner 1989:230-35). Compare εἴ τις at the head of the corresponding list in 1 Tim 3.¹⁰² Such formal lists of virtues and vices were common in the Hellenistic world (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:50-51; Hanson 1966:40-41, 109). The differences in the exact form of the two bishop codes probably indicate that one (probably 1 Tim 3:1-7 since it is less organised than Tit 1:6-9) or both were being quoted from memory. The strong resemblance in content suggests a common source, as do formal similarities such as εἴ τις and also δεῖ ... τὸν ἐπίσκοπον (1 Tim 3:2 and Tit 1:7).

¹⁰¹ Another explanation of the grammar is to take 1:5d (καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους) as the apodosis of 1:6a (Banker 1994:30). However, the sharp switch from the plural πρεσβυτέρους (1:5d) to the singular εἴ τις (1:6a) coupled with the awkwardness of having half of a content ἵνα clause (1:5c-d) doubling as the imperatival apodosis of this conditional clause suggests that the readers would more naturally supply an implied κατάστησον τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτερον (*appoint such a man as an elder*) at the end of 1:6 than cast their minds back to 1:5d.

¹⁰² Also in 1 Timothy 3:5, though this is clearly a parenthetical addition made by the author.

ἀνέγκλητος (= ἀνεπίλημπος, 1 Tim 3:2) refers to being *blameless, irreproachable* (BAGD), or *unimpeachable* (Quinn 1990:78). It points chiefly to observable behaviour which is beyond legitimate reproach and is “the dominant prerequisite” (Towner 1989:234), the generic requirement of which all the other items in the list are specific, concrete elucidations (Knight 1992:289; Towner 1994:224).

(1:6b) μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ. The first specific requirement deals with an elder’s marriage. The Greek phrase is *a one-woman man*. Although *man* and *woman* likely refer to *husband* and *wife*, the meaning of the phrase remains unclear. Its main purpose has been variously understood as (a) requiring marriage: *a husband of one wife*, (b) prohibiting remarriage: *married only once*, (c) prohibiting polygamy: *a husband of but one wife*, (d) prohibiting divorce, (e) requiring marital fidelity: *a faithful husband*, and (f) prohibiting womanising: *a one-woman kind of man*.¹⁰³ The multitude of proposed explanations is more indicative of commentators’ theological views about marriage and divorce than of any clear indicator of meaning within the present text. Glasscock’s (1983:256) conclusion is pertinent:

One may *assume* Paul meant to prohibit divorced and remarried men from serving as elders, but one should honestly admit that Paul did not *say* “he cannot have been previously married” or “he cannot have been divorced.” What he did say is that he *must be* a one-wife husband or a one-woman type of man. Paul was clearly concerned with one’s character when a man is being considered for this high office; Paul was not calling into review such a person’s preconversion life.

In other words, the implicatures of μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ may include any or all of the interpretations listed above, but explicit content (explicature) of his statement denotes a man committed to one woman/wife. Since the statement falls within a traditional moral code, it is unlikely that the original context would override this meaning.

Therefore, *a faithful husband* (NET; cf. CEV) is the best rendering for both direct and indirect translation. It captures the explicature and allows readers to retrieve most of the implicatures of the Greek text. The two standard renderings are less effective. *The husband of one wife* (NASB, NKJV, RSV) focuses attention more on the candidate’s marital status than his personal character, often being understood primarily as requiring marriage or prohibiting polygamy. *The husband of but one wife* (NIV; cf. GNB) is even worse, restricting the meaning to a prohibition against polygamy or remarriage.

¹⁰³ For a full discussion of the alternatives, see Glasscock (1983), “‘The husband of one wife’ requirement in 1 Timothy 3:2.”

(1:6c) τέκνα ἔχων πιστά. The second specific requirement deals with an elder's children. This clause is grammatically ambiguous; it could mean *having believing children* or *having faithful children* depending on whether an active or passive meaning is ascribed to πιστά. The choice is not an easy one. In favour of *having believing children* are Barrett (1963), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Hanson (1966), Hendriksen (1957), Houlden (1976), Kelly (1963), Lea and Griffin (1992), Quinn (1990) and every major English translation except the KJV, NET, and NKJV. Guthrie (1957), Knight (1992), Lock (1924) and Towner (1994) favour *having faithful children*.

The latter have slightly the better of it. In the Greco-Roman social system, church elders were “drawn from the functioning heads of households” (Wright 1996); these heads probably determined the religion of the entire household (Tidball 1983:81).¹⁰⁴ The most relevant meaning of πιστά would then be *faithful* since *believing* is taken for granted. Telling those who are believers *that* they must be believers produces no contextual effects, but telling them to be faithful *as* believers does. Furthermore, the ethical concern of the letter is with observable behaviour that affects the church's reputation with outsiders; this favours *faithful*. Finally, the statement seems to parallel τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ (1 Tim 3:4), implying that children's behaviour must be submissive and respectable. Thus it seems likely that “πιστά here means ‘faithful’ in the sense of ‘submissive’ or ‘obedient’” (Knight 1992:290).

How should it be translated? Since no English phrasing can retain the linguistic ambiguity of the Greek text, a direct translation should place one reading in the text and the alternative in a note. If my exegesis is correct, the linguistic explicature of the original is *having faithful children*; this should be placed in the text. Two notes should follow, one stating the alternate rendering and the other providing contextual information that allows readers to infer the implicature that these children would also be believers; this retains the text's focus on outward behaviour without losing the implicit detail that the children are believers. The problem indirect translation faces is that a modern elder's children may well not be believers. Therefore, *having faithful children* would lose the implicature that they would be believers. Conversely, *having believing children* makes this implicature more emphatic than the original—though the explicature that the children must be *faithful* is still clear from 1:6d-e. Thus one rendering distorts the balance of information conveyed while the

¹⁰⁴ According to Bartchy (1996), “NT evidence shows that slaves, wives, sons, and daughters were called to conversion *as individuals*, and that at least some of them became members of a Christian house-church even if their patriarchs did not.” In the polytheistic setting of Greco-Roman religion, many patriarchs allowed members of their household freedom of worship. Nevertheless, when the patriarch himself converted, Christianity became the official religion of his entire household.

other sacrifices some information. *Having faithful children* conveys the main point and makes clear that it is the main point, while *having believing children* conveys all the assumptions, but gives the implicature *believing* greater prominence than the original. Neither is perfect, but either is defensible.

(1:6d-e) μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίας ἢ ἀνυπότακτα. These two propositions qualify 1:6c by way of contrast. ἐν κατηγορίᾳ means to be subject to an accusation; it implies vices observable to onlookers. ἀσωτία refers to *reckless living* (BAGD suggests *debauchery, dissipation*), often with the connotation of wasting money on selfish pleasures, especially drunkenness (Rienecker 1980:651). There are two implicatures here (Keener 1993:635): (a) young men, not small children, are in view; (b) elders are “held responsible for the behaviour of the adult children.”¹⁰⁵ ἀνυπότακτος means *undisciplined, disobedient, rebellious* (BAGD s.v. 2). The disjunctive conjunction ἢ implies that either of these two vices in their children is enough to disqualify potential elders.

(1:7a) δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι. Here the author interrupts himself, failing to complete the conditional clause begun in 1:6, to explain why blamelessness is so important. The conjunction γὰρ indicates that an explanation (giving the reason for what was said in 1:6a) is to follow, though the reason itself is projected upon the following ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμον (1:7b). The γὰρ clause itself (1:7a) adds cohesion to the paragraph by restating the main requirement for eldership; semantically, therefore, 1:7a functions as a further amplification of διατάξάμην (1:5e). In an indirect translation the rendering *indeed ... because* (cf. Quinn 1990:25) brings this out neatly; since γὰρ is an important conjunction in the Pastoral Epistles, a direct translation probably does well to translate it homogenously so as to allow readers to see the verbal cohesion of the letter (cf. Evans 1997).

The grammatical construction used here,¹⁰⁶ while common in Greek, has no English equivalent. No attempt should be made to retain its grammatical form. Instead the idiomatic English expression *an overseer must be blameless* should be employed. δεῖ denotes “compulsion of any kind” (BAGD); in this case, moral compulsion brought about by the fact that an overseer represents God.

¹⁰⁵ Under Roman law, fathers exercised lifelong authority over their children; the children’s behaviour brought either honour or shame to their father (cf. Bartchy 1996).

¹⁰⁶ The infinitive εἶναι is the subject of the impersonal verb δεῖ, while τὸν ἐπίσκοπον is the accusative subject of the infinitive εἶναι. Thus a literal rendering would be *to be blameless is necessary [for] an overseer*, which is not natural English idiom.

ἐπίσκοπος, *bishop* or *overseer*, is another key term. Of special importance is its relation to πρεσβύτερος. Towner (1989:224) outlines four views: (a) a monarchical bishop who is distinct from the elders and presides over the church; (b) a lead elder, that is, one chosen from among them to preside over them (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Lips 1979); (c) a specialised class of elders whose task was preaching and teaching (Beyer 1985); and (d) identical with πρεσβύτερος (Fee 1989; Kelly 1963; Knight 1992; Schweizer 1961; Towner 1994).

The position taken on the relation between πρεσβύτερος and ἐπίσκοπος does not affect translation because the English translation can retain the ambiguity.¹⁰⁷ In secular Greek ἐπίσκοπος denoted someone responsible for exercising oversight of something (a home, a business, a project, a shop, a person; Beyer 1985). Its connotations include looking after, caring for, and protecting. *Overseer* is a better translation than *bishop* because the latter conveys connotations associated with modern day Roman Catholic and Anglican ecclesiastical structures.

(1:7b) ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμον. ὡς has a causal sense (BAGD s.v. III.1.b) derived from γάρ. To reduce processing cost it can be rendered *because* in an indirect translation; this is not necessary in a direct translation because *as* does convey the causal implication.

θεοῦ οἰκονόμον evokes imagery drawn from the social structure of Greco-Roman society. The basic unit of society was the household, “a large inclusive and socially cohesive unit” (Hill 1972:215; Robinson 1982). A household would typically consist of a wealthy patron and his family, clients and friends, and a number of slaves who fulfilled various roles. The most “loyal and dependable slaves had positions of responsibility as stewards” (Hock 1985). They were in charge of their master’s affairs. Their responsibilities included managing their master’s goods (financial affairs) and overseeing the other slaves. Thus “the *oikonomos* is a steward from among the slaves who is set over the house and property of the owner” (Michel 1985). θεοῦ οἰκονόμον, therefore, involves an entire assumption schema: (a) a fellow servant (δοῦλος) with those he oversees (not a superior); (b) trusted by his master as a reliable and responsible person; (c) privileged to be entrusted with an important task (see 1 Cor 4:1); (d) in possession of delegated authority to carry out his duties; and (e) accountable to his master for his management of his master’s household.

Direct translation has no problem with this. It simply translates *a steward of God* or *God’s steward* and supplies the necessary contextual background, thereby allowing readers to

¹⁰⁷ For in depth discussion of this question, see Knight (1985) and Mappes (1997b).

draw all the inferences listed. Indirect translation has a problem because modern Western culture has no social institution comparable to stewardship. The literal rendering *a steward of God* is meaningless in modern contexts, while any attempt to explicate its components must necessarily suffer loss of contextual effects. For example, the popular *in charge of God's work* (CEV, GNB) fails to convey implicatures (a) and (b), and places more emphasis on his authority than the original. Similarly, *he is God's minister* (NLT) will convey whatever implicatures readers associate with a clergyman; these may be quite different to those conveyed by θεοῦ οἰκονόμον in the original.

Furthermore, the marked word order with the genitive θεοῦ preceding its head noun οἰκονόμον (only 4x in Titus) lays stress on the fact that an overseer is *God's* steward. The implication is that even though a man's steward may dare to be less than blameless (as was well known), God's steward dare not; he is accountable to an all powerful, all seeing Master. Whereas Greek uses marked word order to create such stress (Porter 1992:303), modern English uses a different device—italics. The translation *God's steward* (with *God's* italicised) prompts the reader to search for extra cognitive effects in much the same way that θεοῦ οἰκονόμον does.

(1:7c) μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ ὀργίλον, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ. This and the following semantic unit qualify the general requirement ἀνέγκλητος in 1:7a by listing a series of items incorporated in the concept of blamelessness, negative and positive, vices and virtues. This time the focus is not on the potential elder's family life, but on his personal character. The author begins with negative traits: (a) αὐθάδης: self-willed or obstinate in one's opinions, with connotations of arrogance and unteachableness; (b) ὀργίλος: easily angered, quick tempered, volatile; (c) πάροινος: a heavy drinker; (d) πλήκτης: aggressive, violent; (e) αἰσχροκερδής: fond of dishonest gain, greedy for money (BAGD), from αἰσχρός, *shame*, and κέρδος, *gain* (cf. 1:11d); it refers to an elder using his office to make money, a shameful thing to do.

The five-fold repetition of μή, a device known as polysyndeton,¹⁰⁸ “is rhetorically deliberate and emphatic” (Conrad, personal communication). According to BDF (§460.3), “polysyndeton produces the impression of extensiveness and abundance by means of an exhausting summary.” Harding (1998:108) describes the paraenesis of the Pastoral Epistles as “the commending of traditional and self-evident moral truths which admit of no counter-

¹⁰⁸ The five-fold repetition of μή is not grammatically required since the five qualities listed are predicates of δεῖ ... εἶναι (Robertson 1934:1172). A single μή would suffice.

argument.” The device thus creates the impression that there is an extensive list of self-evident vices that emphatically disqualify a potential elder, of which the five items listed are “simply irrefutable examples” (Quinn 1990:89). Using a single *not* (CEV, GNB) in translation fails to create these impressions.

(1:8) ἀλλὰ φιλόξενον φιλάγαθον σώφρονα δίκαιον ὅσιον ἐγκρατῆ. The list of six virtues is introduced by the strong adversative ἀλλά, which unites the six virtues into a collective group. The contrast between these virtues and the preceding vices is accentuated by the use of contrasting rhetorical devices. The asyndetic structure of this list serves the same purpose as the polysyndetic structure of 1:7c, namely, to emphasise that an elder’s life *as a whole* must be virtue-filled. BDF (§460.2) explains, “If a series is not strictly a summary but merely an enumeration, asyndeton may even be necessary ... [because] the insertion of καί each time *would make the separate items too important*” (italics added).

Quinn (1990:90-91) argues convincingly that the author has edited an existing catalogue of five virtues by inserting φιλόξενον in the first position, thus making it the most prominent item. Although hospitality was an esteemed cultural value (Malina 1993b:104) and a practical necessity in the light of the dangers of first-century travel (Ferguson 1993:81-82; Keener 1993:626; Malherbe 1983:92-112), it is likely that its prominent position in this list is due to some special circumstance in the local churches, perhaps caring for Jewish Christians fleeing persecution (Quinn 1990:91). Showing hospitality in the ancient world involved urgency, sacrifice, and risk (Towner 1994:227). Since modern Western society has no comparable custom, a direct translation will have to explain this custom and the situation(s) that made it important so as to make these implicatures apparent; the note might also mention that φιλόξενον may have been added to an existing quintet of virtues, thereby allowing readers to appreciate its prominence here. An indirect translation has no way of conveying these implicatures.

The virtues listed form three groups. The first two items are paired by virtue of having φιλο- in compound. φιλόξενος: *hospitality*; literally, *a friend of strangers*. φιλάγαθος: *a lover of good*. Since the euphony of these terms is such an important part of the overall rhetorical effect of the text, it is desirable to reproduce it in translation even at the expense of using the most natural gloss for φιλόξενος. Since modern notions of hospitality differ so vastly from ancient ones, nothing is sacrificed in terms of accuracy by abandoning *hospitality* in favour of *a helper of strangers*.

Furthermore, δίκαιον and ὅσιον form a pair. These terms were often coupled in biblical and non-biblical literature. δίκαιος refers to living uprightly, especially living

according to God's law (cf. 1 Tim 1:9). ὅσιος pertains "to being dedicated or consecrated to the service of God - 'devout, godly, dedicated'" (LN §53.46). When used together, they indicate conformity "to both human and divine law" (Hauck 1985), or as Fee (1988:175) puts it, "duty toward other people and duty toward God." Since *righteous* has religious overtones, *upright* and *holy* seem the best glosses.

Finally, σώφρονα and ἐγκρατῇ form a semantic pair. The σώφρων word group is thematic in the Pastoral Epistles (10x in all, 6x in Titus), embodying the most prominent aspect of the ethical lifestyle exhorted in Titus.¹⁰⁹ They describe the kind of sensible behaviour that characterises a rational person; such behaviour includes prudence, discipline, and moderation. The underlying idea is that someone who lives according to reason will live a self-controlled lifestyle.¹¹⁰ Although these words combine rational and ethical implicatures in a cause-effect relationship (being sensible causes one to be self-controlled), their emphasis throughout the letter is on the ethical aspect—how believers should conduct themselves. For this reason, *self-controlled* is to be preferred to *sensible* throughout. A direct translation should make clear that both ideas are present. ἐγκρατής is a NT hapax that refers to being disciplined or self-controlled. It denotes the ability to exercise control over one's desires. Thus σώφρονα and ἐγκρατῇ refer respectively to a moderate lifestyle and control over desires. I have rendered them *self-controlled* and *self-disciplined*; the latter gloss is chosen to make the chiastic arrangement of the last four virtues in the list as clear as possible.

(1:9a) ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου. ἀντεχόμενον, a predicate participle (Greenlee 1986:56), shares the same relation to ἀνέγκλητος (1:7a) as the various vices and virtues listed in 1:7-8, but is semantically separate from them because it introduces a different kind of requirement, shifting the focus from blameless in *behaviour* to blameless in *belief*. The shift in form from adjectives to a participial clause marks this final requirement as the climax of the entire list (Quinn 1990:92).

ἀντεχόμεναι: "to hold fast to a particular belief, with the implication of acting accordingly - 'to hold fast to, to cling to, to hold firmly to'" (LN §31.49); the preposition in compound may imply holding out against opposition (Rienecker 1980:652; cf. 1:9c). Its

¹⁰⁹ This quality is specifically required of elders, old men (2:2), young women (2:5), young men (2:6), and all believers (2:12).

¹¹⁰ The ideology of this is much like the Stoic idea of living according to nature (κατὰ φύσιν). It is probably not coincidental that two of the four cardinal virtues of Stoicism—wisdom (φρόνησις), courage (ἀνδρεία), temperance (σωφροσύνη), and justice (δικαιοσύνη)—are mentioned in this list. In keeping with the evangelistic purpose of the letter (to make the gospel attractive to unbelievers) and the Pauline evangelistic principle of becoming all things to all people (1 Cor 9:19-23), it makes sense to encourage believers to exhibit those virtues which were held in esteem by society.

object, the content to which elders must be devoted, is τοῦ πιστοῦ λόγου, *the trustworthy message*. This expression denotes the trustworthy content of apostolic preaching (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:133; Knight 1992:293), the very essence of the Pauline gospel that the author wants to preserve for posterity (Quinn 1990:93; Towner 1989:123-24).

The prepositional phrase κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν, situated as an attributive modifier of πιστοῦ λόγου, uses διδαχὴν in the passive sense of what “is taught by the apostles” (Knight 1992:293), “the Christian doctrine that ... has the traditional apostolic stamp of approval” (Towner 1994:228). It presupposes an established body of core apostolic doctrines that form the standard of Christian orthodoxy (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Quinn 1990).¹¹¹ κατὰ conveys the notion of conformity with a given standard. Thus ἡ διδαχή is a broad term including the full scope of Christian theology and ethics; ὁ πιστὸς λόγος is a subset of it that deals with the proclamation of the message of salvation.

How can a translation achieve interpretive resemblance that conveys these assumptions? Firstly, *trustworthy message* (NIV, NLT) conveys the implicature of gospel proclamation more clearly than *faithful word* (NASB, NKJV); this is true for both direct and indirect translation. Secondly, translations like *he was taught* for κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν fail to convey the implicature of an established and authoritative body of apostolic teachings that serve as the standard for orthodoxy; it implies acts of teaching rather than a body of teachings. Conversely, the more literal type of rendering, such as *in accordance with the teaching* (NASB, NRSV), does convey this implicature. If an accompanying note in a direct translation explains that *the teaching* points to a recognised body of apostolic teachings, the apparent awkwardness of the translation would probably give way to communicative clarity. An indirect translation needs to explicate the existence of a body of authoritative, apostolic teachings, perhaps by adding *authoritative* and *of the apostles*.

(1:9b-c) ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν. This ἵνα clause states the two purposes of elders’ being firmly grounded in apostolic doctrine. The most common current English way of expressing purpose is *so that*; this is clearer than *in order that* or simply *that*. The correlative use of καί (καί ... καί) serves a double purpose. Firstly, it makes explicit *that* an elder has *two* doctrinal duties. Secondly, it draws attention to the importance of *each* duty. This counters two opposite problems: (a) over-emphasis on correction, and (b) neglect of correction. Depending

¹¹¹ Quinn (1990:93) comments that “the *didache* comes into focus as an authoritatively transmitted communication in a recognizable form that resists alteration, a doctrine that recognized teachers gave and which believers were to learn (see Rom 12:6-7).”

on their character, elders would naturally tend to err in one direction or the other. Leaving one untranslated (CEV, GNB, NLT, NIV) fails to make explicit how important it is to be simultaneously involved with *both* duties.

The abilities (δυνατός here means *equipped*, Knight 1992:293) elders must have are now stated by two complementary infinitives and their modifiers. The instructions that follow presuppose two groups of believers in the Cretan church—those adhering to apostolic doctrine and those opposing it. The first purpose is to establish believers in Christian doctrine (Kelly 1963:232; Lea and Griffin 1992:286; Towner 1994:228). παρακαλεῖν, a present infinitive with a gnomic force, means *exhort* in the sense of *urging* or *encouraging* believers to accept and live according to the truth; it is almost synonymous with διδάσκειν (Banker 1994:40; Quinn 1990:94). The object of παρακαλεῖν, other people, primarily believers, is left implicit. ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία is a medical metaphor that implies healthy, life-giving doctrine (Malherbe 1980). διδασκαλία, like διδαχή, refers to authoritative apostolic teaching, especially Pauline teaching (Kelly 1963:233). ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ depicts the sphere of exhortation (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Knight 1992), that is, elders are to exhort people within the sphere of sound doctrine. In other words, they must exhort people to live in accordance with sound doctrine, to believe correctly and act accordingly.

What a translation must convey accurately is that παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ refers to exhorting people to live according to sound doctrine. The NLT, for example, completely misleads the reader by rendering *to encourage others with right teaching* (cf. GNB, NIV); this gives the impression that right teaching is a tool for promoting emotional well-being. The problem is that *in sound doctrine* does not collocate naturally with *encourage*, *urge*, or *exhort*. An indirect translation might try *teach sound doctrine* or *instruct in sound doctrine* (cf. RSV). All this sacrifices for communicative clarity is the hortatory nuance of παρακαλέω.¹¹² A direct translation would not willingly make this sacrifice. Formally equivalent attempts like *exhort in sound doctrine* (NASB) lack communicative clarity, though supplying the object of παρακαλεῖν may help prevent misunderstanding. Less literal but more clear are *give exhortation in healthy teaching* (NET), *encourage men to follow sound doctrine* (NAB), and *appeal to his hearers with sound doctrine* (REB). If a literal rendering like *exhort others in sound doctrine* is preferred, a clarifying alternate

¹¹² Preaching involves more emotional appeal than teaching; the NRSV rendering *preach with sound doctrine* is an interesting attempt to capture this implicature.

rendering should be provided to ensure communicative success. Alternatively, a freer rendering can be used in the text to guarantee effective communication.

For παρακαλεῖν, *urge* or *encourage* are more natural than *exhort*, but *exhort* is more accurate. Whichever word is chosen must also be used in 2:6 and 2:15 so as to maintain thematic coherence. For ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, simply *the sound doctrine* or *the correct teaching* is best; the medical imagery of ὑγιαίνω can be explained in a lexical note.

The second purpose is to correct those who oppose sound doctrine. ἐλέγχειν, also a present with a gnomic force, incorporates a wide range of connotations, all having to do with correction. It embodies the whole process of correction from explaining that a given doctrine is wrong, through refuting counter-arguments, to rebuking or punishing those who stubbornly refuse to accept correction. Judging from the strong ἔλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως in 1:13, the Cretan situation is in the latter stages of this process. However, the elders to be appointed are not expected to address that particular situation. By the time they take over leadership of the churches, Titus should have resolved the present situation. Consequently, ἐλέγχειν refers to the general responsibility of church leaders to correct those in error; it includes the entire correction process. τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας are *those who oppose (sound doctrine)*.

Since the entire process of correction is in view, both kinds of translation should use the most general term available to render ἐλεγχεῖν; *correct* seems best. In my direct translation I have rendered τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας as *anyone who opposes*. Having supplied *believers* as the object παρακαλεῖν, I feared that *those who oppose* might be understood as *those (believers) who oppose*. The chosen rendering is true to the meaning and prevents unnecessary limitations being placed on the opponents (no specific opponents are in view).

2.3. Titus 1:10-16

2.3.1. Translations

Table 6. Translations of Titus 1:10-16

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
10 For there are many rebellious men, idle talkers and deceivers, especially among the circumcision party. 11 They <i>must</i> be silenced because they are ruining whole households by teaching things they should not teach for the sake of shameful gain. 12	10 For there are many rebels who deceive believers with hollow speculation; some of the local Jewish converts are particularly to blame. 11 They must be silenced because they are misleading whole house-churches by teaching things they

<p>One of them, one of their very own prophets, has said,</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Cretans are always liars, wild beasts, lazy gluttons.</p> <p>13 This testimony is true. For this reason correct them sternly so that they will be sound in the faith, 14 not adhering to Jewish myths and the commandments of men who reject the truth. 15 To those who are pure, all things are pure, but to those who are defiled and do not believe, nothing is pure. In fact, both their minds and consciences are defiled. 16 They claim to know God, but by their works they deny him; they are detestable, disobedient, and unfit for any good work.</p>	<p>should not teach for the sake of material gain.</p> <p>12 It was a Cretan himself, one of their greatest prophets of old, who said,</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Liars ever, men of Crete, lazy brutes who live to eat.</p> <p>13 There is truth in this testimony. Therefore, correct them as rigorously as necessary so that they will be sound in what they believe, 14 no longer adhering to the speculative religious theories and the man-made rules of those who are in the process of rejecting the truth. 15 To those who are pure, every food is clean; but to those who are polluted (because they do not believe), no food is clean. In fact, both their minds and consciences are defiled. 16 They claim to know God, but by their actions they deny him; they are disobedient and detestable to God, unfit for any good work.</p>
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2.3.2. Discourse Unit

The boundaries of this unit are not in dispute. γάρ connects the paragraph with 1:9c. It picks up on the theme of correction introduced there, but the disciplinarian switches from elders to Titus himself. The paragraph coheres around the false teachers, introduced as πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνυπότακτοι and then variously described throughout the remainder of the unit.

This is the most difficult paragraph to diagram. Several completely different semantic structure analyses are possible. For example, one could treat 1:10a as a main proposition, expounded in 1:10b-11d, with 1:11a being a semantically prominent inference drawn from 1:10a. One would then treat 1:12a-14 as a restatement of 1:10-11; 1:12 parallels 1:10, affirming the wickedness of the false teachers, while 1:13b parallels 1:11a, instructing Titus to discipline them.

The display I offer in diagram 7 is based on Banker’s (1994:44) analysis. He argues that the paragraph is arranged chiastically—two grounds statements (1:10-12) build towards a central inference (1:13b), which is then further justified by means of two more grounds

statements (1:15-16). The argument of the paragraph is designed to justify the author's call for Titus to rebuke the false teachers severely. The chiastic structure of the argument is as follows:

- A. Grounds 1: Their character—Paul's testimony (1:10-11)
- B. Grounds 2: Their character—Epimenides' testimony (1:12)
- C. Inference: Rebuke them sharply (1:13-14)
- B. Grounds 3: Their nature—defiled (1:15)
- C. Grounds 4: Their works—detestable (1:16)

This kind of chiastic structure usually marks the central item as the main point; therefore, 1:13b is labelled as the head constituent. However, the extensive attention given to justifying the action called for in 1:13b marks the two major grounds constituents (1:10-12 and 1:15-16) as semantically prominent. Therefore, all three of the level one labels are capitalised, indicating equal semantic prominence.

Once the chiastic structure of the paragraph is used as the overall framework for diagramming it, the rest of the semantic relationships are fairly clear. The most difficult remaining problem concerns the connection between 1:10a and 1:11a, which could be understood as (a) co-ordinate heads, (b) HEAD-amplification, (c) grounds-INFERENCE, (d) situation-RESPONSE, or (e) circumstance-HEAD. The way a translator labels this relation is not of great significance, however, for any moderately literal rendering leaves room for English readers to assume any of the various possibilities. The same is true of the overall structure of the paragraph. Even if a translator analyses it substantially differently, it should not have a large influence on how he/she translates unless he/she is producing a loose paraphrase that specifies semantic relations between clauses more clearly than the original text does.

2.3.3. Commentary

(1:10a) Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ [καὶ] ἀνυπότακτοι, ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται. γάρ is an important conjunction in Titus. On three occasions it functions as a marker of grounds on the paragraph level, thereby serving as a major clue to the structure of the letter (cf. 2:11 and 3:3). Heckert (1996:105-106; cf. Levinsohn 2000:91) describes it as a marker of confirmation providing either confirmation or support for a previous proposition or assumption.... In the Pastoral Epistles the basic function of γάρ is to introduce propositions which confirm and strengthen a preceding conjunct.... In its specific uses it can indicate reason and sometimes also explanation.

Here it connects 1:10-16 with 1:9, explaining—by means of a real-life example—why it is necessary for an elder to hold firmly to sound doctrine, especially why he must be able to correct those who oppose it.

Structurally, the entire paragraph builds towards the one main imperative in 1:13b. Everything before and after that provides the grounds for Titus correcting the false teachers. The grounds constituents describe their character, actions, and teachings.

Whether or not the pleonastic first καὶ is original is irrelevant since the resultant hendiadys will not be reproduced in translation.¹¹³ ἀνυπότακτοι is a substantival adjective, hence *rebellious men* (NASB; cf. RSV) or *rebellious people* (NET, NIV, NRSV). The masculine form may well not be generic since the author seems to have a specific group of male rebels in mind (cf. 2 Tim 3:6-9). If this is true, the exclusive *rebellious men* is more accurate than the inclusive *rebellious people*.

ματαιολόγοι and φρεναπάται are further descriptions of the rebels. ματαιολόγοι is an uncommon word in Jewish and Christian literature, but the characterisation of the false teachers opposed in the Pastoral Epistles as *idle talkers* is common (cf. 1 Tim 1:6-7, 2 Tim 2:16, and Tit 3:9). They promote controversies that serve no constructive purpose. φρεναπάτης refers to one who deceives or seduces others' minds (because he himself is deceived, BDF §119.2; Guthrie 1957:187). The passage has a poetic ring, combining a "stream of *oi/ai* assonance" (Quinn 1990:106) and a double hendiadys (assuming καί to be original). This is almost impossible to capture in translation, although Quinn (1990:97) tries unsuccessfully to do so by means of alliteration, rendering ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται "spouting nonsense and seducing minds."

¹¹³ It was a classical Greek idiom; see BDF §442.11.

(1:10b) *μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς. μάλιστα* commonly singles out members of a larger group for special attention, hence *especially* or *particularly* (BAGD). However, in *ad hoc* documents it can also define or particularise a general term, hence *in other words* or *that is to say* (Skeat 1979, cited by Fee 1988:183). Thus this proposition provides either a description or an identification of the rebels.

οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς here denotes Jewish Christians (BAGD s.v. περιτομή 4.b; cf. Acts 10:45, 11:2, Gal 2:12, Col 4:11), or perhaps more specifically circumcised Christians (cf. Cole's 1989:116 discussion of Gal 2:12). Nothing in the Pastoral Epistles suggests that the phrase implies advocating circumcision as necessary for salvation (as it did in Gal 2:12). Rather, by this time οἱ ἐκ (τῆς) περιτομῆς seems to have become a frozen idiom for *Jewish Christians* (Kelly 1963:234; Fee 1988:178).

Although οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς is natural Greek, the literal translation *those of the circumcision* (NASB, NKJV, NRSV) is not normal English. An indirect translation faces two dangers. Firstly, it may fail to convey the fact that these are *Jewish Christians*; consider, for example, *some Jewish followers* (CEV) and *among the Jews* (Phillips). Secondly, it may suggest an anti-Semitic prejudice that is not present in the original text. The CEV does well to make clear that not all Jewish converts are rebels and deceivers. Even so, readers with existing anti-Semitic attitudes who read it without the original context in mind¹¹⁴ are still likely to take it as proving their view that Jews are troublemakers. However, beyond explicating *some* and *Christians* there is nothing an indirect translation can do to prevent this interpretation. A direct translation might read *the circumcised believers* or even *converts from Judaism* (GNB); such renderings are acceptable on the grounds that they explicate linguistically implicit information,¹¹⁵ an explication rather than an implicature. Although more literal glosses like *the circumcised* or *the circumcision party* would need an explanatory note to make clear that *Jewish Christians* are in view, they are to be preferred in case οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς was not yet a frozen idiom. The anti-Semitic connotation can be countered by a note describing the historically particular nature of the situation in Crete.

(1:11a) οὕς δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν. Semantically, this proposition could be analysed as drawing an inference concerning what must be done about the rebels on the basis their character described in 1:10a, that is, stating the necessary response to the situation they have

¹¹⁴ That is, without awareness that this text refers to a particular historical situation that could just have easily have been occasioned by any other ethnic group.

¹¹⁵ Assuming that οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς was by this stage a frozen idiom.

caused. Accordingly, the relation between 1:10a and 1:11a would be treated as situation-RESPONSE. However, the structure of the whole paragraph suggests that 1:10a-13a provides the grounds for the rebuke called for in 1:13b. In that case, 1:10 introduces the problem in Crete (the false teachers); then 1:11 elaborates on the false teachers and the problem they are causing. Therefore, I have analysed the relationship between 1:10a and 1:11a as HEAD-amplification; an alternative would be circumstance-HEAD. Since English discourse tends to amplify by means of a new sentence, it makes sense to begin a new sentence in 1:11.

οὗς is the object of ἐπιστομίζειν, which is the subject of δεῖ; no subject is stated, though the immediate subject is clearly Titus himself (inferred from the imperative ἐλέγχε in 1:13b). Once Titus leaves Crete the responsibility will pass to the elders of the church (1:9c). The omission of the subject enables the author to retain a dual reference to Titus and the elders, an ambiguity that English can retain even with the subject *you* stated. However, the omission serves a more important purpose, namely, to emphasise the importance of the task rather than who performs it. This emphasis is lost if the subject is supplied in translation (e.g. *you must silence them*), but is retained if the active ἐπιστομίζειν is converted to a passive verb as in *they must be silenced*. Why then did the author not use a passive form himself? He probably wanted to convey the urgency of the task as forcefully as possible.

ἐπιστομίζω, *stop the mouth, silence* (BAGD), suggests a metaphor, either that of *bridling* an animal so as to be able to control and direct it or *muzzling* an animal so as to keep it quiet (Kelly 1963:234; Quinn 1990:98). The former would imply silencing the rebels “by the unanswerable arguments” (White n.d.:188) of orthodoxy. However, the epistle implies that the time for such debates is over, so the allusion is more likely to preventing them from spreading their harmful teachings by whatever means necessary, probably church discipline (cf. 3:9-11). Perhaps the best translation is *they must be silenced*, with *must* italicised to capture the force of the active ἐπιστομίζειν. Retaining the metaphor, as in *they must be muzzled*, implies the negative connotation of not allowing the false teachers to defend themselves. Since the original metaphor does not convey a wide range of weak implicatures, but rather a single strong implicature, the explicated form does not lose much in terms of contextual effects.

(1:11b) οἵτινες ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπουσιν. Grammatically this relative clause is an adjectival modifier of οὗς, but semantically it also supplies the reason for the previous proposition (1:11a). This double adjectival-adverbial role is fairly common with relative clauses (Brooks and Winberry 1979:175-76). However, οἵτινες also has a qualitative force (Wallace 1996:344), focusing on “the nature or essence of the person or thing in view.” Since

the causal notion is linguistically implicit, both direct and indirect translation do well to make it explicit (NASB, NRSV). The qualitative force of οἵτινες cannot be captured in translation without resorting to an awkward paraphrase, which that would overemphasise what is a subtle point in the original.

The verb ἀνατρέπω means *overturn, destroy* (BAGD). The implication is surely that they are subverting the faith of believers by means of false teachings (Kelly 1963:234; Towner 1994:230). As a result of their influence the Christian community in Crete was “now racked with dissension and controversy” (Quinn 1990:107). The popular rendering *upsetting* (CEV, GNB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, RSV) as recommended by LN (§31.72) is weak because it implies causing someone emotional trauma, but does not necessarily imply ruining or destroying their faith. This rendering assumes, as Fee (1988:178) points out, the unlikely interpretation that families are being upset by the desertion of a couple of members (e.g. White n.d.:189). *Subvert* (KJV, NKJV) is accurate (Keener 1993:636), but perhaps the better known *overturning* (focussing on what they were doing) or *ruining* (focusing on its result, NIV) are best.

Some commentators (Fee 1988:178; Kelly 1963:234; Quinn 1990:107) regard ὅλους οἴκους as referring to *entire house-churches*. Quinn makes a good case for this based on the house-church providing the setting and being a central motif in the Pastoral Epistles. Another possibility (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:135; Guthrie 1957:187; Hendriksen 1957:351; Houlden 1976:144; White n.d.:188; Towner 1989:26, 188 and 1994:230) is that their teachings were corrupting *whole families* by undermining traditional views of household roles, perhaps “undermining the authority structures current in the culture” (Keener 1993:636) by promoting emancipation for women and slaves (Towner 1989). Support for this view is derived from the instructions given in 2:4-5 and 2:9-10 and from the cross-reference in 2 Tim 3:6. Commitment to traditional family roles was a core value in Roman culture (McVann 1993b:70). Anything that undermined it would be deemed a threat to society and, therefore, to the reputation of the church.

Choosing between these two interpretations is not easy. Perhaps they are both valid: by promoting subversive attitudes toward family roles the false teachers had caused a rift in the Christian community; from the author’s perspective, those house-churches that embraced their views were ruining their faith. As far as translation is concerned, a direct translation should stick to the neutral rendering *whole households*, but an indirect translation should explicate the implicature that seems most relevant to the target audience, either *whole families* or *entire house-churches*.

(1:11c) διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ. This proposition states the means by which the false teachers were subverting whole households, namely, *by teaching things they ought not to teach* (NIV). The substantival relative clause ἃ μὴ δεῖ is the direct object of διδάσκοντες. διδάσκειν, a subject infinitive of δεῖ, needs to be supplied to complete the clause; it should be made explicit in translation (as the NIV does). The unusual use of μή rather than οὐ with the indicative may simply be a “mixture of τὰ μὴ δέοντα [1 T 5:13] and ἃ οὐ δεῖ” (BDF §428.4). Robertson (1934:1169), however, regards it as a remnant of a classical “literary construction ... often used to describe or characterize in a subjective or relative way.” Given the author’s awareness of the more correct τὰ μὴ δέοντα and his usually meticulous attention to rhetorical detail, it is unlikely that he would have made the careless ‘error’ BDF suggests. The clause likely reflects the author’s own personal and emotional judgement that they *really* should not teach these things. δεῖ denotes “the compulsion of what is [not] fitting” (BAGD s.v. 5), hence *what is not proper*, probably meaning inappropriate according to traditional mores.

(1:11d) αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν. The prepositional phrase supplies the reason or purpose of 1:11c: they teach the things they do because of their desire for material gain. For χάριν, see 1:5a. αἰσχρός denotes shameful or disgraceful behaviour (LN §88.150) and κέρδος material gain; together they imply that greed is a disgraceful motive for spiritual service.¹¹⁶ BAGD recommends the gloss *dishonest gain*, which is accurate insofar the false teachers feign concern for the well-being of others while their real concern is to make money. However, a direct translation should stay with *shameful gain*. In an honour-shame culture, describing something as shameful carried strong implicatures (cf. Plevnik 1993:95-104).

(1:12a) εἶπέν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης. The author substantiates his evaluation of the false teachers’ shameful character by quoting from a recognised authority. What does he hope to achieve with this quotation? Fee’s (1988:179) view is more or less representative:

He is reminded that the conduct of these false teachers is very much in accord with the known reputation of Crete, expressed in an epigram of Epimenides (ca. 600 B.C.).... What he intends by this seems clear enough. It is not a blanket indictment of all Cretans; rather, he is reminding them that in the case of the false

¹¹⁶ Although those who preach and teach the word of God are entitled to financial support (1 Tim 5:17-18), they should not be doing it primarily as a means of making money.

teachers, Epimenides, one of their own prophets, certainly gave testimony which was true.

Epimenides himself was a famous sixth-century B.C.E. Cretan philosopher, poet, and prophet (Wachob 1996). This quote allegedly originated in reaction to a false Cretan claim to have the tomb of Zeus on their island. As a Cretan himself, Epimenides surely did not mean it as a blanket and true description of Cretan character,¹¹⁷ but rather as an hyperbolic characterisation on account of their manifestly false claim—an attempt to shock them into admitting their claim was false. In time the quote came to be regarded, probably falsely (Baly 1985), as a true evaluation of Cretan character. Such “geographically rooted ethnic stereotypes” were common in antiquity (Malina 1993a:17). The force of the quote, then, is that it implies that the false teachers’ behaviour makes the way outsiders stereotypically view Cretans look valid; thereby, it challenges them on the basis of their national patriotism.¹¹⁸

The introductory statement is designed to give credibility and authority to the quote. Grammatically, *τις ἐξ αὐτῶν* is the subject of *εἶπεν*, and *ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης* stands in apposition to the subject. *τις ἐξ αὐτῶν* identifies the speaker as *one of them*, that is, a Cretan, one of their countrymen, not, as some commentators claim, one of the false teachers. Grammatically, *ἐξ αὐτῶν* is a partitive genitive and the nearest antecedent of *αὐτῶν* is the *πολλοί* described in 1:10-11; so this does imply *one of the false teachers*. However, this is a clear case where pragmatic concerns override grammar. The author is appealing to Epimenides as someone who agrees with him, that is, one who denounced speculative religious myths, but who, unlike the author, is not an outsider but a fellow Cretan. The point

¹¹⁷ This would, as Thiselton (1994) points out, render the quote a logical absurdity.

¹¹⁸ In “The logical role of the liar paradox in Titus 1:12, 13,” Anthony Thiselton (1994) proposes a fascinating alternative to the usual understanding of this quote. He argues that the Epimenides with whom the quoted statement originated was not a diviner but a “philosophical logician” (1994:220). Epimenides coined the statement to illustrate a logical paradox, what Thiselton calls “the logical asymmetry between first-person and third-person utterances” (1994:221). The author of Titus used this liar paradox, which his audience presumably knew to be a logical device, “to demonstrate the self-defeating ineffectiveness of making truth-claims which are given the lie by conduct which fails to match them” (1994:214). Later the quote was used in a dispute over the tomb of Zeus and came to be thought of as a truth-proposition rather than a logical paradox. The original Epimenides, a wise man, may also have been confused with another Epimenides, a diviner. Thus the meaning of the quote and its role in Titus were misunderstood.

The problem with this argument is that what evidence we have, scant though it may be, suggests that he was a poet and diviner and that the quote was a denunciation of the Cretan claim to possess the tomb of Zeus. If the quote was known by the readers of Titus to be a logical paradox, as Thiselton claims, then his argument is valid. However, we must make our reconstruction of the original context based on the best evidence available. This is an excellent example of (a) the context-dependent nature of communication and (b) the problem historical distance poses for successful interpretation. We do not know what assumptions the original audience had concerning this quote; we must base our reconstruction on the majority of the evidence available, which may not be correct. The interpretation of a translation will depend on the translator’s reconstruction.

of contact is not that he shares the false teachers' views, but that he is one of their countrymen, one with a right to comment on their character. Ἰδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης adds authority to the quote by appealing to the status of the speaker. He is not just one of them, but one of their greatest spokespersons, one of their wisest and most influential forefathers. Given that the ancients revered the wisdom of their forefathers, the quotation has tremendous rhetorical force. Knight (1992:298) explains that Ἰδιος "heightens the force of αὐτῶν," making the "prophet's identification with the Cretans very specific."

An indirect translation should (a) make the point of identification between Epimenides and the false teachers explicit and (b) make his status and authority as a spokesperson evident. The GNB does this well: *It was a Cretan himself, one of their own prophets....* It should not imply that he was one of the false teachers or even one of their contemporaries.¹¹⁹ To counter wrong identification of Epimenides, I have inserted *of old*, thereby making clear that he was not a member any group in first-century Crete. Furthermore, to convey the great status of the speaker, which would have been familiar to the original readers, I have added *greatest* in front of *prophets*. A direct translation does not need to explicate anything here since these things are all contextual implications. It will, however, need to supply extensive background information.

(1:12b) Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. The quote itself poses few translation problems. It is a subset proposition (cf. Wallace 1996:41) in which Cretans are portrayed as belonging to three classes: (a) ψεύσται: liars; (b) κακὰ θηρία: wild beasts; θηρίον was commonly used of vicious, wild animals and, by figurative extension, of people with a bestial nature (BAGD s.v. 2); its metaphorical use implies vicious, dangerous, violent, wild men; (c) γαστέρες ἀργαί: lazy gluttons,¹²⁰ probably an allusion to their lack of self-control.

Although a literal translation of the passage is adequate, Quinn (1990:97) has ingeniously managed to capture the poetry of the passage:

Liars ever, men of Crete,
Nasty brutes that live to eat.

By capturing the poetic nature of the original Quinn manages to convey to readers the fact that the quote itself is a poetic hyperbole rather than a fully truth-conditional proposition (an

¹¹⁹ Given the familiarity of the quote, there was no danger of the original audience drawing this wrong implicature. An indirect translation needs to guard against its readers doing so.

¹²⁰ Literally, "lazy bellies," but presumably a frozen metaphor.

assumption that should have been self-evident to Cretans). This is a crucial communicative clue. The quote is a stereotypical, hyperbolic generalisation about Cretans, not a literal claim that all Cretans are always completely evil.¹²¹ With reference to the false teachers, however, it is literally true. Since the force of the quote lies not in pressing its details (Kelly 1963:236) but in the fact that provides authoritative corroboration for the author's argument, Quinn's rendering is ideal as an indirect translation and even worth considering for a direct translation.¹²² Idiomatic translations that have tried to explicate the components of the quote's three predicates fail dismally to communicate the author's intent in using the quote (CEV, LB, Phillips). *The people of Crete always tell lies. They are greedy and lazy like wild animals* (CEV), for example, loses the poetic effect and makes too much of the individual characterisations.

(1:13a) ἡ μαρτυρία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀληθής. This is simply the author's affirmation that Epimenides' evaluation of Cretans character is valid with respect to the false teachers. It poses no translation problems. For an indirect translation, *there is truth in this testimonial* (Phillips) does well to make clear that the author is not making a blanket denunciation of an entire ethnic group.

(1:13b) δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐλέγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως. The prepositional phrase δι' ἣν αἰτίαν functions as an inferential conjunction,¹²³ drawing an inference as to what Titus must do about the false teachers on the basis of the character evaluation in 1:10a-13a. Semantically, it functions as the theme statement of the paragraph. The lengthy descriptions of the false teachers' character and actions in 1:10a-13a and 1:14-16c provide the grounds for the required correction.

For the nuances of ἐλέγχω, see 1:9c. The adverb ἀποτόμως, *severely, rigorously* (BAGD), certainly adds a note of sharpness and seriousness to the verb. The letter (especially 3:9-11) seems to imply that the time for theological debate was over and the time for church discipline had arrived. Unlike 1:9 where ἐλέγχω has a gnomic reference to elders' duty to correct opponents in general, here a specific act of correction is in view and the context

¹²¹ This is logically evident from the fact that it is the testimony of a Cretan.

¹²² Even in the original text the catchy rhythm of the hexameter was more important than the literal details of its components.

¹²³ Knight (1992:299) and Quinn (1990:100) both follow BDF (§456.4) by calling it a causal conjunction phrase. Technically, if the syntax is fully explained, they are correct. Nevertheless, due to the order of propositions here I preferred to label it as an inferential conjunction, following Schreiner's (1990:104) explanation that the only difference between causal and inferential propositions lies in the order in which they are stated.

suggests that the correction process has reached the rebuke phase. It is not, as Houlden claims (1976:145), public rebuttal that is needed (this has already occurred without success), but public reproof. That the goal of the correction is restoration (cf. 1:13c) does not imply that gentle instruction is in view; restoration is the goal of all church discipline, even excommunication.

Viewed in isolation, therefore, ἔλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως is best rendered *rebuke them sharply*. However, ἐλέγχω provides essential clues concerning the coherence of the letter. In particular, its inclusion in 1:9c and then in the theme statement of 1:10-16 marks the latter paragraph as an elaboration of 1:9c. If it is rendered *correct* in 1:9c and *rebuke* in 1:13b, the verbal coherence of the letter will be lost to an English reader. Since ἐλέγχω cannot be rendered *rebuke* in 1:9c, the only solution seems to be to retain *correct* here and supply *rebuke them sharply* together with some explanatory comments in a note.

An indirect translation must face the fact that it is going to be applied to contexts where the correction process is in an earlier stage, contexts where severe rebuke is not yet necessary. Two solutions are possible. It could retain *rebuke* and explicate the historical implicatures, such as, *since they have not responded to your correction, rebuke them sharply*. Alternatively, it could convey the implication that correction should be as mild as possible but as stern as necessary, perhaps *correct them as rigorously as necessary* (cf. LB).

(1:13c) ἵνα ὑγιαίνωσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει. The ἵνα clause states the goal of the preceding rebuke, namely, to restore the false teachers to sound faith. ὑγιαίνω implies a medical metaphor (Malherbe 1980)—*healthy*, in the sense of being *sound* or *correct*. The context almost requires that τῇ πίστει be objective, denoting the content of their faith (Guthrie 1957; Knight 1992; Quinn 1990). What is in question is not the strength of their personal convictions, but the accuracy of those convictions. Towner (1989:121-22) regards πίστις and ἀλήθεια as the only two terms used in the Pastoral Epistles to “describe the whole matrix of the objective data of which the Christian religion consists.”

If this interpretation is accurate, then the CEV translation *in their faith* is inadequate because *their* by its very nature implies something personal and subjective. Similarly, translations like *have a healthy faith* (GNB; cf. REV) imply a subjective interpretation of πίστις. The literal and ever popular *in the faith* (NASB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, RSV) is effective, though for spontaneous clarity one might render *so that they may be correct in what they believe*.

(1:14) μὴ προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις καὶ ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀποστρεφόμενων τὴν ἀλήθειαν. The goal of restoring the false teachers to doctrinal

soundness is now defined by means of a qualifying statement that states two specific things that such soundness entails. The participle προσέχοντες can be classified as either a predicate participle (i.e. a subject complement) or an attendant circumstance participle without altering the sense (cf. Greenlee 1986:56-57). Its two dative objects represent two historically particular beliefs that clash with sound doctrine.

προσέχω can convey a wide range of different connotations that all deal with someone's receptivity to a particular teaching or teacher. These range from (a) merely listening to it (neutral in attitude and commitment), through (b) openness to embracing it (interested, though not yet personally devoted) to (c) firm personal belief and devotion (positive in attitude and commitment). Its use here lies toward the latter end of the scale, probably referring to devotion to certain beliefs. μή with the present participle here is semantically equivalent to μή with a present imperative denoting the cessation of an activity in progress. Readers of a direct translation can be expected to know that the false teachers were holding to deviant beliefs, so there is no need to explicate the force of μή προσέχοντες. However, an explication such as *no longer adhering* adds clarity to an indirect translation.

The two dative objects, Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις and ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων, represent one of the few glimpses the author gives of the actual content of the false teaching threatening the Cretan churches. Unfortunately, however, there is insufficient evidence to allow us to pinpoint what they mean.

μῦθος occurs four times in the Pastoral Epistles (cf. 1 Tim 1:4, 4:7 and 2 Tim 4:4). The references to Ἰουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι (Tit 1:14) and γεγενεαλογίαι (Tit 3:9) together probably refer to the same thing as the reference to μῦθοι καὶ γεγενεαλογίαι (1 Tim 1:4). Greenlee's (1989:42-43) survey of the views taken by commentaries reveals how futile it is, in view of the lack of evidence, to attempt to identify exactly what Ἰουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι were.¹²⁴

It may refer to the beginnings of Gnostic mythologies [Alford 1856; Bengel 1877; Hanson 1982]. They are probably similar to the "interminable fables" referred to in 1 Tim. 1:4 [Kelly 1963]. They may be gnostic or fanciful expansions of Old Testament stories [Gealy and Noyes 1955; Guthrie 1957; Hanson 1966], fanciful stories similar to those of apocryphal Judaism [Hiebert 1978; Scott 1936] about

¹²⁴ Greenlee's citation format is altered and placed in author-date format because the abbreviations he uses are not being used in this study.

Jewish ancestors [Hendriksen 1957; Lenski 1946], Jewish oral traditions [Robertson 1931], or other ascetic prohibitions [Ellicott 1864; White n.d.].

To this list can be added speculative use of the OT (Towner 1994), concocted stories related to the genealogies developed out of those given in the OT (Knight 1992), and Jewish and Gnostic ideas combined with Hellenistic Judaism (Lea and Griffin 1992). The conclusion of the matter: “The actual content of these Jewish myths remains unknown” (Lea and Griffin 1992:291). What we can say with confidence is that they were, at least to the author, (a) highly disputable legends (b) based on esoteric speculation (c) with little or no practical value (d) that were derived from Jewish and/or Gnostic influences.

ἐντολαὶ ἀνθρώπων, the second description of the false teaching, is a clear reference to Isaiah 29:13 in the LXX, a passage quoted by Jesus in Mark 7:6-7 and Matthew 15:8-9.¹²⁵ The original in Isaiah 29:13 denounced religious formalism. Jesus applied it to a dispute over ceremonial washing¹²⁶ and Paul alluded to it to denounce ascetic teachings (Col 2:22). The reference in Titus 1:14 is also to ascetic laws, “prohibitions concerning *food*, marriage and other ritual observances” (Greenlee 1989:43, italics added).¹²⁷ The genitive ἀνθρώπων indicates that the source or origin of the commands is human as opposed to divine (Knight 1992:301; Towner 1994:233).

The participial clause ἀποστρεφόμενων τὴν ἀλήθειαν functions as an attributive modifier of ἀνθρώπων. The use of the present participle is somewhat unexpected. Seeing as specific opponents are in view, the aorist participle would be most natural to describe those who have turned away from the truth. Most commentators and translations treat the present tense as having either a gnomic force, that is, “simply defining its subject as belonging to a certain class, i.e. the class of those who” (Burton 1900:§123) turn away from the truth, or a habitual force, describing habitual rejection of the truth (Greenlee 1989:43).¹²⁸ In view of the

¹²⁵ Although the LXX uses ἐντάλμα in place of ἐντολή, these two words are completely interchangeable in the immediate context; cf. Matthew and Mark’s use of ἐντολή θεοῦ in contrast to ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

¹²⁶ Jesus equated ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων with τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων (*the tradition of men*), which was synonymous with τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων (*the tradition of the elders*). The tradition of the elders was a “body of [oral] explanatory tradition that was growing up around the law” (Cole 1989:182) that was considered binding by the Pharisees (Setzer 1996); much of it dealt with matters of ceremonial purity.

¹²⁷ The problem in Crete also deals with religious formalism (e.g. food related asceticism) in conflict with true devotion to God (cf. 1:16); the author’s use of Isaiah 29:13 may well suggest that he was familiar with Matthew 15:1-20 and Mark 7:1-23, perhaps through oral tradition. Thus ἐντολαὶ ἀνθρώπων may refer to the Jewish oral tradition.

¹²⁸ These interpretations are not distinguished in translation; therefore, it is not possible to tell which one a given commentator or translator follows. Translations in this category include the NASB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, REB, and RSV. Commentators who support this rendering include Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Fee (1988), Guthrie (1957), Houlden (1976), Knight (1992), Lee and Griffin (1992), and White (n.d.).

historically particular nature of the context, the present tense is more likely progressive in force, indicating an act in progress; Burton (1900:§131) calls this category “the present [participle] of past action still in progress.” The communicative clue it conveys is that of members of the Cretan church who are in the process of rejecting the gospel; they have turned away from it but their repudiation is not yet complete. This interpretation is supported by Lock (1924:135) and reflected in Quinn’s (1990:97) rendering *people who are abandoning the truth*. The middle voice of ἀποστρεφόμενων is reflexive (Zerwick 1996:648), implying turning oneself from something, hence repudiating or rejecting it.

This verse is not difficult for a direct translation to handle. Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις and ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων can be rendered literally because the difficulty of assigning referents to them is a contextual problem. Similarly, the normal rendering of ἀποστρεφόμενων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, something like *men who reject the truth*, retains the linguistic ambiguity of the Greek text better than any other translation; its meaning should be clear enough once background information is supplied. The inclusive language *those who reject the truth* (NRSV) is inferior because it obscures the fact that the heretics were probably men.

The task is less straightforward for an indirect translation. Firstly, *Jewish myths* will not convey to a modern reader what it did to the original readers. To achieve communicative success one would have recontextualise and generalise by explicating the components of its meaning that are universal and accept the loss of historically particular nuances, perhaps something like *speculative religious theories*. Secondly, *commandments of men* could imply ascetic rules in lieu of 1:15 and the presence of the phrase elsewhere in the Bible, but since it would be nowhere near as clear as to those in the original context, explicating the ascetic implicature would be advisable. Finally, *those who are in the process of rejecting the truth* conveys the fact that the envisioned opponents are insiders more clearly than *those who reject the truth*.

(1:15a). Semantically, 1:15 and 1:16 function as two grounds statements for the paragraph’s main proposition in 1:13b. They both state the reason that Titus must *rebuke them sharply*. Simultaneously, 1:15 provides insight into the nature of *the commandments of men*. It shows that they concern matters of ceremonial purity, almost certainly dealing with clean and unclean foods.

πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς. This proposition, probably a familiar proverb (Lea and Griffin 1992:291; Quinn 1990:113), is not the head of its unit. Instead, it provides the setting for the head statement that follows by pointing out what the false teachers are not; in other words, it contrasts with 1:15b.

This statement poses no problems for direct translation. The straightforward *to the pure all things are pure* captures the play on the word καθάρως in which the first reference (καθαρά) refers to ceremonial purity while the second (καθαροῖς) refers to inward purity.¹²⁹ For indirect translation, see 1:15b.

(1:15b) τοῖς δὲ μεμιαμμένοις καὶ ἀπίστοις οὐδὲν καθαρὸν. This unit is the head statement of 1:15 and serves as a ground for 1:13b. Whether it is the part of the proverb or the author's inference drawn from the proverb and applied to the false teachers, it is the antithesis of the proverb in 1:15a. It is a perfect example of antithetical parallelism except for the addition of καὶ ἀπίστοις, which is the author's own interpolation to clarify the fact that purity results from belief and defilement from unbelief. Thus καί is exegetical with καὶ ἀπίστοις defining μεμιαμμένοις.

How would the original readers have known καί was exegetical? If they were familiar with the proverb, they would have recognised καὶ ἀπίστοις as an interpolation clarifying τοῖς μεμιαμμένοις. English readers should be able to draw the same inference from *defiled and unbelieving*. The danger is that *unbelieving* does not directly imply *unbeliever* (= unsaved person), as was the case with ἄπιστος. Communicative success in the original context—the ultimate goal of translation—can be guaranteed by making a slight alteration in form, such as *those who are defiled and do not believe*, so as to produce a clear communicative clue.

The problem for indirect translation is that Westerners do not think in terms of ceremonial purity, so they will probably miss the play on the double meaning of *pure*; they are likely to interpret all occurrences of *pure* and *defiled* with reference to morality. Therefore, most idiomatic translations resort to direct translation (GNB, NIV, NLT, REB). Those that attempt to make the meaning clear in the receptor context (CEV, LB, Message, Phillips) not only sacrifice the rhetorical force of the original proverb, but they also fail to grasp the dynamics of successful communication in translation. Consider the CEV as an example:

Everything is pure for someone whose heart is pure.

But nothing is pure for an unbeliever with a dirty mind.

Apart from being rhetorically feeble, it *explicates the wrong information*. The communicative problem for a Western reader is not perceiving that the second *pure* refers to inward purity, it

¹²⁹ In Pauline thinking, inward purity is always a result of the saving work of Christ. At conversion sinners are cleansed inwardly (cf. Tit 2:14, Eph 5:26).

is perceiving that the first refers to outward purity. Similarly, there is no need to explicate τοῖς μεμιαμμένοις. Modern readers are likely to draw precisely the kind of wrong inferences that the author of the LB did,¹³⁰ namely, that *everything is pure* and *nothing is pure* refer to behaviour or thought patterns. The different interpretations result from ideological differences between Greco-Roman and Western cultures. For the ancients religion was more about rituals than morals; for Westerners, religion is all about morals.

Can the contextual gap be bridged? Not completely, but partial success is possible if we explicate the correct parts of the proverb. In *to those who are pure, every food is clean; but to those who are polluted (because they do not believe), no food is clean*, the main focus of the original meaning is preserved, though at the expense of limiting the scope of *everything* and *nothing* to food laws. At least the distinction between moral purity and ritual cleanness is clear.

(1:15c) ἀλλὰ μεμΐανται αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ συνείδησις. Semantically, this proposition amplifies the preceding one (Banker 1994:44). ἀλλὰ does not signal contrast with 1:15b, but “a further enlargement of the contrast already begun with δέ, as the repetition of the main verb μαιίνω points out” (Knight 1992:303). Being stronger than δέ, ἀλλὰ “has an ascensive force” (Banker 1994:54) which is probably best translated *in fact* (NIV). The placement of αὐτῶν in front of the two nouns is simply “to save repetition” (Turner 1963:190). The remainder of the clause poses few problems, as is indicated by the almost unanimous agreement among versions. The fact that νοῦς has ethical overtones (being the faculty for making moral decisions) is worth noting in a lexical note. The singular nouns νοῦς and συνείδησις are distributive by virtue of the influence of αὐτῶν.

(1:16a) θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι. This is not the head proposition of the section, but stands in a concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION relation to its head proposition (1:16b). ὁμολογέω refers to making a public declaration (BAGD s.v. 4) or openly professing allegiance to someone (LN §33.274). θεὸν εἰδέναι expresses the content of their profession. οἶδα refers to personal, relational knowledge (Knight 1992:303), perhaps including special, mystical insights (Kelly 1963:237). θεὸν is marked for prominence, indicating that it is not just any god but the Judeo-Christian God (θεός is almost never articular in the Pastoral Epistles, cf. Quinn 1990:103).¹³¹ For translation, see 1:16b.

¹³⁰ The LB paraphrases: “A person who is pure of heart *sees goodness and purity in everything*; but a person whose own heart is evil and untrusting *finds evil in everything*” (italics added).

¹³¹ When the article is present, it serves some purpose other than specifying which God is meant. Monotheism is assumed throughout the Pastoral Epistles.

(1:16b) τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀρνοῦνται. This is another grounds proposition for 1:13b: Titus must rebuke them because their works prove that they do not know God. δέ marks it as being in contrast to 1:16a; the actual relationship between the two is concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION. ἀρνέομαι is the opposite of ὁμολογέω (BAGD s.v. ἀρνέομαι 2), hence *to deny*. τοῖς ἔργοις is a dative of means, hence *by their works*, that is, by their immoral lifestyle. The article functions as a possessive pronoun.

In 1:16a-b we have a clear illustration of the fact that the real problem for translation is bridging contextual gaps. In spite of the time and culture gaps, this text represents an experience that is universal to Christianity in any context, namely, hypocrisy in the form of inconsistency between people's profession of faith and their behaviour. When the source and receptor readers have such similar frames of reference, almost any sensible translation will communicate accurately. As far as English readers are concerned, Banker's (1994:55-56) contention that *deny* is an inappropriate rendering of ἀρνέομαι because it implies a speech act is simply incorrect. No reasonable English reader would reach such a conclusion. English syntax does, however, require that the implicit object of ἀρνέομαι be stated.

(1:16c) βδελυκτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπειθεῖς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀδόκιμοι. Grammatically, the participle ὄντες is subordinate to ἀρνοῦνται, though the semantic relationship between the two is difficult to pinpoint. Kopesec (1980, cited by Banker 1994:55) sees a generic-specific relationship here, but this is unlikely since this proposition describes the character of the false teachers rather than describing their works. This leaves two options. It may simply make a further assertion about the false teachers; semantically it would be co-ordinate with 1:16b and subordinate to 1:13b in a HEAD-grounds relationship. Otherwise, it could be a causal participle describing the grounds for 1:16b (Banker 1994:45; Hendriksen 1957:357). While both of these options are possible, it seems most natural for the participle ὄντες to be directly subordinate to ἀρνοῦνται, hence a causal participle functioning as a grounds statement for 1:16b. The polysyndetic use of καὶ binds the three adjectives together and "gives the final summary an expansive, even exhaustive sound" (Quinn 1990:104); therefore, the three-fold description should be treated together rather than separated.

βδελυκτοί: *detestable, abominable*. The point is probably that rather than being intimate with God, as they claim, they are detestable to him (Knight 1992:303-304; Quinn 1990:115). ἀπειθεῖς: *disobedient*, clearly to God and his word, the gospel. ἀδόκιμοι refers to being tested and found wanting, hence *disqualified, worthless, or unfit*. The πρὸς phrase indicates purpose. The whole expression *unfit for any good work* suggests that their works have been examined and they have shown themselves to be incapable of doing anything good

(Banker 1994:56; Quinn 1990:115). One might take *any good work* figuratively as a hyperbolic characterisation or literally as referring to any work that is acceptable to God (Knight 1992:304).

A direct translation should attempt to leave the question of how ὄντες relates to ἀρνοῦνται open. Punctuating with a comma and rendering ὄντες with the participle *being* (NASB, NKJV) suggests either a generic-specific or a HEAD-grounds relationship and eliminates the possibility that 1:16c is a further grounds of 1:13b. So ὄντες must be rendered *they are* and separated by either a semi-colon or a period. A semi-colon (REB, RSV) suggests a close relationship with what immediately precedes (1:16b), hence HEAD-grounds, while a period (NIV, NLT, NRSV) suggests that 1:16b and 1:16c are co-ordinate. Since the form of the Greek text leans implies a close relationship between ὄντες and ἀρνοῦνται, punctuating with a semi-colon is best. If 1:16c relates to 1:13b rather than 1:16b, this relationship must be inferred in spite of the grammar of the paragraph rather than because of the grammar. An indirect translation may specify an interpretation (e.g. NET, *since they are*), but need not do so since disambiguation of the grammar here is not dependent on the external context.

2.4. Titus 2:1-10

2.4.1. Translations

Table 7. Translations of Titus 2:1-10

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
1 But as for you, teach what is consistent with sound doctrine. 2 Teach older men to be sober, dignified, and self-controlled; to be sound in faith, in love, and in perseverance. 3 Teach older women to be reverend in their behaviour, neither slanderous nor addicted to much wine, and to be teachers of good 4 so that they can train the younger women to love their husbands and children, 5 to be self-controlled and pure, to be homemakers and a good mistresses, and to submit to their husbands, so that God's message will not be discredited. 6 Exhort the	1 But as for you, keep encouraging the kind of behaviour that is consistent with sound doctrine. 2 Teach older men to be sober, dignified, and self-controlled; encourage them to remain strong in their faith towards God, their love for others, and their perseverance in hard times. 3 Similarly, teach older women to behave in a reverend manner: to avoid gossiping and heavy drinking; encourage them to teach what is good 4 so that they can train the younger women to love their husbands and their children, 5 to be self-controlled and pure, to work in the home and

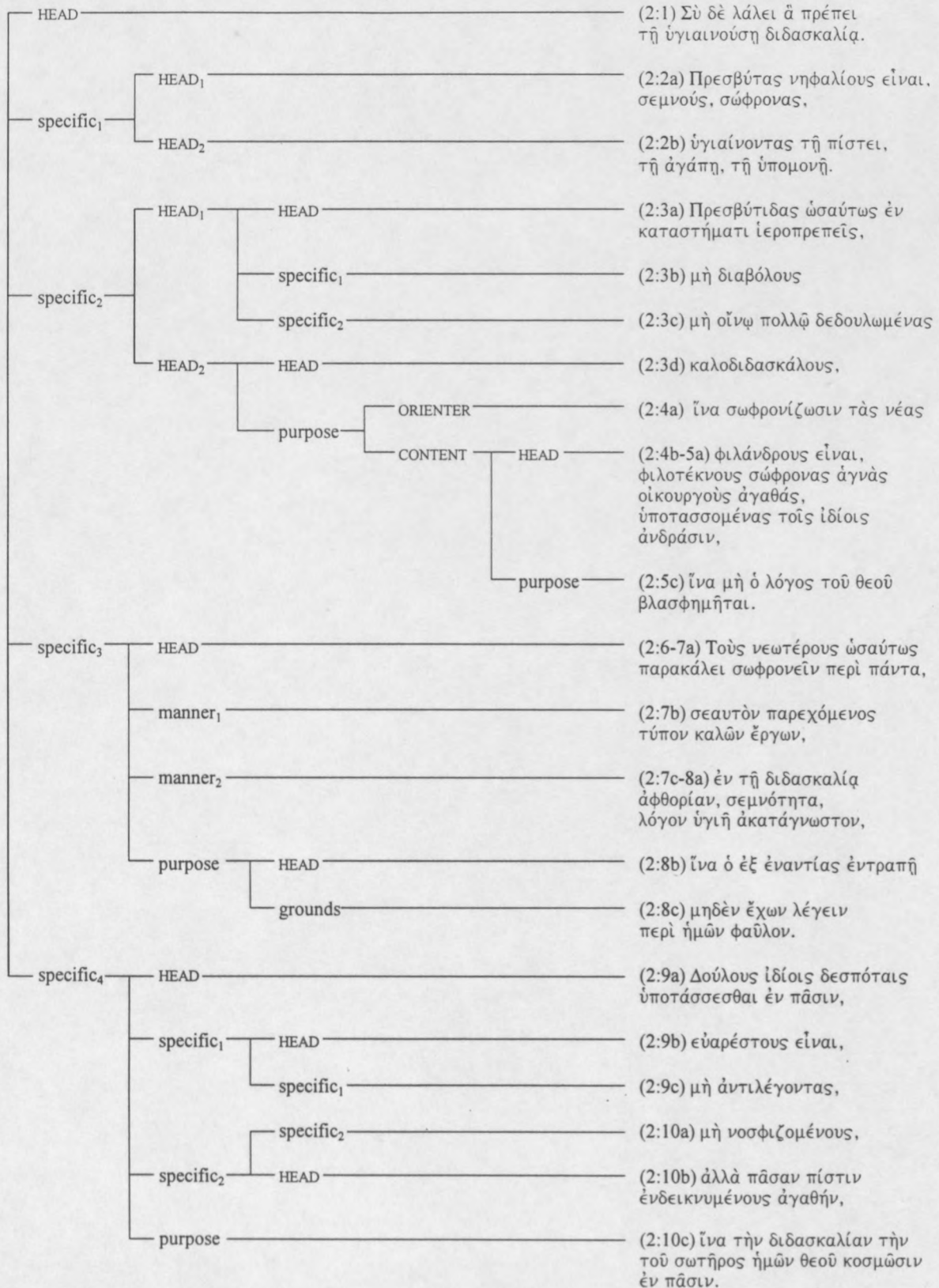
younger men to be self-controlled in all respects. 7 Present yourself as an example of good works. In your teaching show integrity, dignity, 8 and soundness of message that cannot be condemned, so that anyone who opposes you will be put to shame because he has nothing <i>bad</i> to say about us. 9 Exhort slaves to submit to their owners in all things—to try to please them and not to talk back, 10 not to steal but to prove themselves completely trustworthy—so that they may adorn the teaching about God our Saviour in all things.	be kind to domestic help, and to submit to their husbands, so that their behaviour will stop causing outsiders to malign the gospel. 6 Furthermore, urge the younger men to be self-controlled in all respects. 7 Present yourself as an example of good works. When you teach, show integrity, seriousness, 8 and soundness that cannot be condemned. Then those who oppose you will be put to shame because they have nothing <i>bad</i> to say about us. 9 Finally, urge slaves to submit to their owners in all things. They must try to please them instead of defying them. 10 Instead of stealing from them, they must show that they can be fully trusted. Thus they will make the teaching about God <i>our Saviour</i> attractive.
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2.4.2. Discourse Unit

The opening boundary of this unit is clearly marked by the topical shift from discussing the false teachers to discussing the various classes of people within the Cretan church, a shift emphatically marked by the transitional opening words σὺ δέ. The exhortations are ordered around five social groups in the Cretan church; they cohere grammatically around two imperatives (λάλει and παρακάλει) which are developed by means of a series of imperatival infinitives and lexically around a series of terms in the same semantic domain, with the σῶφρων word group predominating (Banker 1994:61). The closing boundary is indicated by the presence of γάρ in 2:11, together with the shift from present imperatives to the aorist indicative ἐπεφάνη.

The semantic structure of the this paragraph poses no problems. It opens with a head exhortation, which is then developed by means of instructions to five specific groups of people. Although it was possible to diagram it with the instructions to younger women on the same semantic level as those to the other four groups, I preferred to follow the grammar of the Greek text and show 2:4-5 as propositions subordinate to 2:3d.

Diagram 8. Semantic Structure of Titus 2:1-10



2.4.3. Commentary

(2:1) Σὺ δὲ λάλει ᾧ πρέπει τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ. Σὺ δέ sets this section in stark contrast to the commands in 1:10-16 (Fee 1988:185). Σὺ brings Titus into the foreground (Banker 1994:62), while δέ sets his role in the church in contrast to that of the false teachers.

The verb λάλει is used here to denote teaching, speaking in the sense of asserting or proclaiming something (BAGD s.v. 2.b); it is virtually synonymous with δίδασκε (Knight 1992:305) except for being a milder term (Fee 1988:185), thus better suited for “informal usage” (LN §30.70). Its use in preference to δίδασκε is probably because Titus is to continually speak truth (λάλει is a customary present; Banker 1994:63) in both his informal and formal interaction with believers;¹³² by constant repetition he will establish believers in sound doctrine. It should be rendered *teach* and accompanied by a lexical note; in an indirect translation, it could be modified by adverbs like *constantly*, *gently*, or *informally* to bring out its implicit nuances. I have rendered *keep encouraging* in an attempt to bring out these three notions simultaneously.

The relative clause ᾧ πρέπει τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ functions as the direct object of λάλει.¹³³ πρέπει denotes what is what is *fitting*, *proper*, or *suitable* “in a given context” (Rienecker 1980:653), “with the possible implication of a moral judgement involved” (LN §66.1). It is often followed by a dative denoting the person or thing with reference to which something is appropriate. Here the dative τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ denotes the semantic idea of a standard to which something must conform (Banker 1994:62). The article τῇ is anaphoric, pointing back to the occurrence of the same noun phrase in 1:9b. For ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, see 1:9b.

This verse is not difficult to translate. *But as for you* (NASB, NLT, NRSV, RSV) conveys the contrast with 1:10-16 better than simply *but you*. The NIV’s failure to translate δέ cannot be justified. The force of the dative can be conveyed in a number of ways (cf. GNB, NIV, NRSV, REB), though a very literal rendering like *speak the things which are fitting for sound doctrine* is unclear (cf. NASB, NKJV). On the whole, the NRSV is excellent: *But as for you, teach what is consistent with sound doctrine*.

¹³² λάλει also denotes teaching in Mark 2:2.

¹³³ Technically, the grammar requires the reader to supply an implicit ἐκεῖνα or ταῦτα as the direct object of λάλει (Wallace 1996:607); the relative clause then modifies the pronoun.

(2:2a-b) Two points need to be noted before discussing the propositions that follow. Firstly, notions of what is fitting are highly context-dependent, varying from one culture to another and even from one social setting to another. The specific instructions that follow represent the author's contextualisation of sound doctrine to the Cretan context. They represent an ethic of social respectability. Secondly, the actual moral instructions that follow are not the sound doctrine itself; they are its implications. These are the things that are *consistent with sound doctrine*; the underlying doctrine is stated in 2:11-14 (cf. Banker 1994:62-63; Lea and Griffin 1992:309).

Πρεσβύτας νηφαλίους εἶναι, σεμνούς, σώφρονas, ὑγιαίνονταc τῇ πίστει, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ. This proposition is the first of a series of propositions that describe things that are consistent with sound doctrine. Interestingly, the lengthy sentence 2:2-5 lacks a main verb. BDF (§389; cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:139) explains this as the ellipsis of a governing verb of saying, a repetition of either *λάλει* (2:1) or *παρακάλει* (2:6). Moulton (1908:179) and Robertson (1934:943-944) prefer to regard *εἶναι* as an imperatival infinitive; they regard imperatival *εἶναι* as developing the preceding imperative *λάλει* (cf. Moule 1959:126). In the first explanation *πρεσβύταc* is the object of the implied verb while in the other it is the subject of *εἶναι*. Either way, an imperatival force is implied and the communicative clue remains the same: the older men must conduct themselves as stipulated.

Πρεσβύτηc is the first of four age-related words in this pericope; *πρεσβύτιc*, *νέα*, and *νεωτέροc* are the other three. They denote respectively older men and women, and younger men and women. Relying on a classification by Aristotle, Christopher Hutson (personal communication) suggests that younger men or women were probably young, married adults in their twenties or thirties. Older men and women would be those who had raised a family (Lea and Griffin 1992:297), middle aged or slightly older, but not necessarily advanced in years, probably in their forties or fifties.¹³⁴ In essence, then, Titus presents the community in terms of two age groups, the relatively older and the relatively younger. A translation should use *older* and *younger* rather than *old* and *young* to convey the fluid nature of the age brackets (cf. Banker 1994:63). Crucially, it must be remembered that in the ancient world no stigma was attached to being older; what connotations it included were positive rather than negative (Walker 1999).

¹³⁴ Quinn (1990:129) places "the dividing line between older and younger [at] about fifty years of age."

The older men are called to manifest six qualities. These qualities group easily into two sets of three.¹³⁵ The first set consists of three adjectives semantically linked by the root idea of self-control. νηφάλιος probably denotes general temperance, that is, control of physical appetites (Guthrie 1957:191; Hendriksen 1957:363; Kelly 1963:239).¹³⁶ σεμνούς refers to behaviour that is worthy of respect by virtue of being dignified and serious; it depicts a mature manner of conducting oneself. σώφρων implies sensible, rational, prudent behaviour; prudence always leads to self-control (cf. 1:8). To summarise, νηφάλιος implies avoiding overindulgence, σεμνός avoiding frivolity or silliness, and σώφρων avoiding rash behaviour (foolish acts without consideration of their consequences). Together they depict a mature man in complete control of himself.

The other set is introduced by the participle ὑγιαίνοντας which supplies the root idea of soundness or healthiness. The present tense implies *remaining* sound. The three datives identify three spheres of life in which older men must demonstrate soundness. ὑγιαίνω: *sound* or *healthy*, probably in the sense of being strong and excelling in the stated areas. ἀγάπη: *love*, here love toward other human beings. ὑπομονή: *endurance* or *perseverance* under difficult circumstances. πίστις: *faith*. Does it mean *sound in the faith*, that is, well established in correct doctrine, or *sound in their faith*, that is, with strong, vibrant, healthy faith in God? The second is correct (Fee 1988:186; Greenlee 1989:50; Kelly 1963:240; Knight 1992:306) because (a) it parallels τῇ ἀγάπῃ and τῇ ὑπομονῇ, both of which are used subjectively, (b) it parallels the familiar Christian triad of virtues, faith, hope, and love, with endurance substituted for hope because of the immediate need of the church,¹³⁷ and (c) it addresses church members rather than church leaders, teachers by example but not teachers of doctrine.

In translation it is better to supply an implied verb than treat εἶναι as an imperatival infinitive; this clarifies that Titus himself teaches all the groups except the younger women. A translation should convey the fact that there are two triads of virtues (GNB, NIV); a simple listing of terms (NASB) obscures what would have been fairly clear to the original readers.

¹³⁵ Knight (1992:305) claims there are four qualities, referring to νηφάλιους, σεμνούς, σώφρονας, and ὑγιαίνοντας. However, the switch from adjectives to the participle ὑγιαίνοντας followed by three more qualities indicates a switch from one group to another group, as Banker's (1987:60) semantic analysis rightly shows.

¹³⁶ The literal sense of *sober* (temperance in use of alcohol) is included and may be primary (cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:139; Hendriksen 1957:363). Knight (1992:305; cf. Lea and Griffin 1992:297) regards *clear-headed* (cf. BAGD), an implicature of soberness, as the primary sense.

¹³⁷ Perseverance is substituted for hope because of the threat posed by false teachers. In the face of a false teaching to which women were highly susceptible (see 2 Tim 3:6 and Tit 2:3-5), the senior men must be models of steadfast commitment to Christ (see Kelly 1963:240).

Modern readers may not recognise the first triad as traditional virtues because they are not Western virtues, but there is little a translation can do about it. For the sake of clarity, an indirect translation has the option to explicate the implied objects of *faith*, *love*, and *perseverance*.

(2:3a) Πρεσβύτιδας ὡσαύτως ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς, μὴ διαβόλους μὴ οἶνω πολλῶ δεδουλωμένας, καλοδιδασκάλους. The second group of people, older women, are introduced by the comparative adverb ὡσαύτως. It may indicate that the requirements for older women are somehow similar in nature to those for older men (Banker 1994:65; Guthrie 1957:192), but it may simply imply that just as there are standards for older men, there are also standards for older women (Knight 1992:132; Lenski 1946).¹³⁸ Either way, both groups are called to conform to existing social mores (Towner 1994:237). For πρεσβῦτις, see 2:2.

The first requirement is ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς. κατάστημα refers to a person's *behaviour* or *demeanour* (BAGD), the way in which a woman conducts herself. ἱεροπρεπεῖς denotes what is *befitting of a holy person* (BAGD), the reverent behaviour that is appropriate or becoming for someone devoted to God (Vine 1985:55).

(2:3b-c) μὴ διαβόλους μὴ οἶνω πολλῶ δεδουλωμένας. The general requirement of reverent behaviour is now qualified by two specifics. These appear to have been singled out because they were the two vices most commonly associated with older women in the Greco-Roman world (Dover 1974:95-102; Keener 1993:638; Towner 1989:193) and, therefore, also the most important ones to be avoided if the church was to obtain a good reputation with outsiders. μὴ διαβόλους: *not slanderers*. μὴ οἶνω πολλῶ δεδουλωμένας: *not enslaved by much wine*; more natural English idiom is *addicted to much wine* (NIV). Wine was the dominant form of alcohol in the ancient world; thus οἶνος was a generic term for alcohol. We however drink a wide variety of different alcoholic beverages; therefore, οἶνος is best rendered *drink* (NRSV) in an indirect translation.

(2:3d) καλοδιδασκάλους. This fourth requirement is not semantically subordinate to ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς; it is an independent requirement (Banker 1994:60). καλοδιδάσκαλος denotes *teaching what is good* (BAGD)¹³⁹ and probably refers to informal instruction through a combination of advice and example (Greenlee 1989:52). In Greco-Roman society women did not engage in formal teaching, so it would be clear to the original

¹³⁸ The grammar of this verse is identical to that of 2:2, with ὡσαύτως requiring that εἶναι be supplied from the previous verse (Knight 1992:132; Lea and Griffin 1992:299; Quinn 1990:118).

¹³⁹ Hanna (1983) takes it in the sense of *good teachers*.

readers that the allusion here is to informal instruction. Since this may not be clear to modern readers, there is merit in Phillips' indirect rendering *they should be examples of the good life, so that the younger women may learn*.

(2:4a) ἵνα σωφρονίζωσιν τὰς νέας. This proposition gives the purpose of the final requirement made of older women (Banker 1994:66; Fee 1988:187; Knight 1992:307). It relates primarily to 2:3d rather than to all the requirements in 2:3a-d. The purpose of the instructions in 2:3a-c was to direct the behaviour of the older women themselves, whereas the instruction in 2:3d is not for the benefit of the older women themselves, but for the benefit of the younger women.

σωφρονίζω denotes causing someone to be sensible, hence to *train, instruct, encourage, advise, or admonish*. The allusion is to an apprenticeship style of teaching, personal demonstration and assistance. The best gloss for conveying this idea is *train* (NIV, RSV). Greenlee (1989:54) cites a number of commentators (Brown 1917; Fee 1984; Hendriksen 1957; Hiebert 1978; White n.d.) who support the view that τὰς νέας is "probably referring primarily to newly married women," but qualifies this view by saying that the qualities listed would also apply to single women. This is, however, more an implicature than an explicature because the text "assumes a culture in which most younger women will be married" (Fee 1988:187). Girls were normally married in their early teens (Ferguson 1993:68). An indirect translation can translate either *younger women* or *young wives*, depending on what seems most relevant. In Western culture, where women often do not marry until fairly late in life, *younger women* is definitely better.

(2:4b-5a) φιλάνδρους εἶναι, φιλοτέκνους σώφρονας ἄγνὰς οἰκουργοὺς ἀγαθὰς. The author now lists six requirements (three pairs of adjectives) for younger women; grammatically, εἶναι supplies the content of σωφρονίζωσιν, but simultaneously carries a notion of purpose (Banker 1994:67). All the requirements relate to home life. Ferguson (1993:70) explains the reason for this:

Although the picture of classical Greek women kept in seclusion has been overdrawn, their sphere was definitely the home. The degree of their confinement resulted from the importance of not allowing any suspicion to fall on younger girls or wives.

Unlike each of the other groups addressed here, Titus is not to personally teach the younger women. The author's instructions to them are channelled through the older women, whose duty it was to train the younger women. There are three reasons why older women had to instruct younger women: (a) practical—the content of the instruction concerned women's

duties; (b) traditional—it was customary for older women to instruct younger women (Keener 1993:638); and (c) moral—for the sake of maintaining sexual purity.

Since the text addresses younger women indirectly, instructions to them are grammatically subordinate to those addressed to older women. They are not, however, semantically subordinate. In fact, along with those addressed to slaves (2:9-10), they are the most semantically prominent instructions in the pericope (Lea and Griffin 1992:302). Their prominence is marked by the *ἵνα* clause that follows. The fact that these two groups are singled out for special treatment may imply that the false teachers were promoting emancipation for women and slaves, perhaps based on an over-realised eschatology (Towner 1989).

The first pair is φίλανδρος and φιλότεκνος, *a husband-lover* and *a child-lover*, probably best translated *to love their husbands and their children*. The second pair is σώφρων and ἁγνός. σώφρων: *sensible, self-controlled, moderate* (cf. 1:8); when used of women, it strongly implies modesty and moderation. ἁγνός: *pure*; when used of women, primarily but not exclusively with the connotation of chastity (BAGD; Knight 1992:308). The collocation of σώφρων and ἁγνός alludes to “avoiding any connotations of sexual infidelity” (Keener 1993:638; cf. Towner 1994:238).

The third pair, οἰκουργός¹⁴⁰ and ἀγαθός, is more problematic because the two words can be treated independently, representing two requirements, or with ἀγαθός dependant upon οἰκουργός, representing one requirement, without compromising the rhetorical balance of the list. There is nothing to choose between these two interpretations (Metzger 1994:585). οἰκουργός denotes “caring for the house, working at home” (Strong 1996), hence someone who is domesticated. To maintain the form of the original it is desirable to find a one-word gloss; *housekeeper, homemaker, and housewife* are possibilities. If ἀγαθός is taken as an attributive modifier of οἰκουργός, then it means *good* in the sense of being competent or proficient in their household tasks. If it is taken independently, it means *kind* or *considerate*; Quinn (1990:121) comments:

The preceding and following adjectives explicitly give a context of home and marriage to the otherwise generic *agathas*, “good.” In such a context this adjective means a good mistress, that is, considerate and kindly in dealing with her domestic help.

¹⁴⁰ The variant οἰκουρούς is merely a different spelling (BAGD; Quinn 1990:121) and needs no mention.

Thus the final pair may indicate that women should handle their household tasks and their household help well.¹⁴¹

In sum, we have surveyed three pairs of requirements concerning a woman's "relationships at home" (Fee 1988:187). Firstly, she must love her family (φιλάνδρους and φιλοτέκνους). Secondly, she must maintain complete sexual purity (σώφρων and ἄγνός). Finally, she must manage household affairs with skilfulness and pleasantness.

The first pair pose no translation problems. Concerning the second pair, *sensible* (CEV, NASB, RSV) is weak, having no sexual connotations. For a direct translation, *self-controlled* and *pure* are good (GNB, NIV, NRSV); the sexual connotations will be obvious once the cultural role of women is explained. However, since modern culture places far less emphasis on sexually conservative behaviour for women, a rendering like *self-controlled and pure* will sound quite abstract and general, not necessarily implying that the implicatures of sexually modest behaviour are primarily in view. *Discreet* and *chaste* (NKJV) make these implicatures more explicit, but these terms are no longer in everyday use for most English users. So if an indirect translation renders *self-controlled and pure* it suffers loss of contextual effects, but if it renders *discreet and chaste* it increases processing effort.

The final pair pose translation problems. If οἰκουργούς and ἀγαθός are taken together, something like *good homemakers* (CEV) or *good housewives* (GNB) is perfect for either method of translation. However, if they are taken separately, modern readers are unlikely to associate *kind*, even when used in a list of terms dealing with household matters, specifically with women's treatment of household servants because women's sphere of activity is no longer limited to the home. A direct translation could translate ἀγαθός as *kind* or *considerate* and clarify its reference to domestic workers in a note. The problem with this arises from the desirability indicating clearly that the first six items in this list form three pairs. Since οἰκουργούς is used substantivally, ἀγαθός also has to be rendered substantivally—to be *homemakers* and *kind* is poor English. Thus ἀγαθός would be rendered *kind women*, but since the reference is not to women in general but to women in their capacity as mistresses, *kind mistresses* is an attractive rendering. Although this violates the guideline of not explicating contextual information in a direct translation, it will produce the correct

¹⁴¹ According to Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972) and Hanson (1982), ἀγαθός is dependent, while Knight (1992) and Quinn (1990) regard it as independent. Non-committal are Fee (1988), Lea and Griffin (1992), and Towner (1994).

interpretation when processed in the original context and do so at minimal processing cost.¹⁴² An indirect translation will definitely make the allusion to how women treat their domestic help explicit.

(2:5b) ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν. This final requirement is marked as the most prominent in the list by several factors: (a) placement at the end; (b) change of form from adjectives to a participial clause; (c) return to a subject already mentioned, namely, duties toward husbands; and (d) the purpose clause immediately following. This may well imply, as Towner (1989) argues at length, that the false teaching circulating in the region was promoting emancipation for women and subverting traditional cultural values. The author is simply reaffirming “the cultural norm of what a good wife is supposed to be like” (Fee 1988:188). The straightforward translation *submitting to (their) own husbands* is adequate.

(2:5c) ἵνα μὴ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημηται. This ἵνα clause supplies the purpose of the preceding instructions. Most commentators (e.g. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:139; Lea and Griffin 1992:302) believe it relates primarily to the instructions addressed to younger women (2:4b-5b), though it also expresses the purpose of the list as a whole (Knight 1992:309), as is evident from the repetition of similar purpose clauses in 2:8 and 2:10.

ἵνα μὴ denotes negative purpose; it can be rendered *lest*, though *so that ... not* is clearer. ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, *the word of God*, denotes *the gospel message* that has God as its source and salvation as the purpose of its proclamation (Towner 1989:124). βλασφημέω: “to speak against someone in such a way as to harm or injure his or her reputation” (LN §33.400), hence to *blaspheme, slander, discredit, or malign*. The passive voice is used to highlight the subject and action rather than the agent (Wallace 1996:436; Young 1994:135). What is important is not who blasphemes, but *that* the word of God may be blasphemed as a result of inappropriate behaviour on the part of the younger women (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:139). Since Christianity was already viewed with scepticism, the present tense is best understood in the sense of *continue to be blasphemed*.

This statement implies the presence of opponents other than the false teachers (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:141). Whereas the instructions in 2:4b-5b are designed to counteract the teachings of the false teachers, the purpose of this countermeasure is not to prevent the false teachers but outsiders from blaspheming the word of God. It presupposes a historical

¹⁴² One objection to *kind mistresses* is that the most common use of *mistress* is no longer to denote “a female head of a household” or “a woman in authority over others” (Allen 1991:760), but to denote a woman with whom a man engages in a prolonged adulterous relationship. However, the context clearly excludes the latter meaning from consideration, so *kind mistresses* should provide a clear communicative clue.

context in which Christianity was already looked on with scepticism by outsiders. They were suspected of subverting traditional Greco-Roman values. They actively promoted a dangerous superstition, conducted secret meetings, refused to honour traditional deities or to “take part in festivals or attend the games or the theatre because they actually despised the very gods who had so long been protectors of the nation” (Whitaker 1984:134). If the behaviour of Christian women was to endorse a subversive teaching—emancipation of women—it would confirm outsiders’ suspicions and bring the gospel message into further disrepute, thereby both compromising the church’s evangelistic mission (Towner 1989) and increasing the likelihood of persecution (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972).

To modern Bible readers, *the word of God* is synonymous with *the Bible*. A direct translation can render *the word of God* if and only if it adds to note to make clear that this phrase denotes the message of salvation, not the written word of God. Otherwise it should, like an indirect translation, try something like *God’s message* (CEV) or even *the gospel* (NLT). Translating βλασφημῆται as an active with the implicit agent *no one* supplied completely misses the point of the passive (e.g. CEV, GNB, NIV); such a change is unnecessary since the passive construction is perfectly clear and natural English. Finally, an indirect translation should bring out the force of the present tense, making it clear that Christianity’s reputation was already being maligned;¹⁴³ a direct translation will bring this out by explaining the historical context.

(2:6) Τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡσαύτως παρακάλει σωφρονεῖν. This proposition introduces the fourth group to be addressed, *the younger men*. The forefronted τοὺς νεωτέρους marks a topic change (Banker 1994:68). The use of the comparative adjective is logical here, simply denoting in a general way all men younger than those regarded as πρεσβύτας. The failure to do likewise for *younger women* may indeed suggest that τὰς νέας refers to *new wives* (cf. 2:4a). ὡσαύτως is a comparative adverb with a continuative function (cf. 2:3a).

Since the instructions in 2:2-5 contained no main verb (λάλει probably being understood from 2:1), the author’s decision to use a main verb here is striking.¹⁴⁴ It could simply bring stylistic variation, but if Quinn (1990:139) is correct that it indicates “the hand of the editor,” it is probably be more significant. Guthrie (1957:194) and Kelly (1963:242) point out that παρακάλει is stronger than λάλει; it sharpens the author’s tone. The change of

¹⁴³ A widespread misconception among Bible readers is that outsiders greatly respected the early church for the sincerity of their faith. Anyone who assumes this will probably misinterpret 2:4-5.

¹⁴⁴ He could have continued τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡσαύτως εἶναι σώφρονας (following the syntax of 2:2, 3) or τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡσαύτως σωφρονεῖν (as in 2:9).

tone conforms to the cultural norm that older people had to be addressed with utmost respect; conversely, peers or social inferiors could be addressed more assertively.¹⁴⁵ Titus' instruction to different groups should be firm without being rude. Furthermore, the insertion of παρακάλει also adds thematic coherence to the epistle by indicating that 2:1-10 represents an amplification of 1:9b (cf. Banker 1994:61).

The infinitive σωφρονεῖν expresses the content of παρακάλει. An entire assumption schema underlies σωφρονέω.¹⁴⁶ Firstly, it implies the ability to think clearly and sanely (LN §30.22), hence *sound-minded*. With reference to conduct, it implies understanding the implications of one's behaviour and acting wisely, hence to be *sensible*. In first-century culture, sensible living was equated with being *moderate* and *self-controlled* in one's behaviour. In the text, the behaviour being encouraged is *self-control*, but the fact that this is the most sensible way of living is implied. The present tense implies continually being self-controlled (cf. σώφρων, 1:8).

For the translation of παρακάλει, any of four glosses are possible: *exhort*, *urge*, *encourage*, or *appeal to* (cf. 1:9b). Using the same gloss as in 1:9b is important because παρακάλεω provides an important clue to the structure of the letter, indicating that 2:1-10 amplifies on 1:9b. σωφρονέω should be rendered *self-controlled* (CEV, GNB, NET, NIV, NRSV), not *sensible* (NASB; cf. NKJV, NLT), because the emphasis of the passage is on resultant conduct not the reasoning process that produces it. This is especially true for an indirect translation because for modern readers *sensible* does not have strong moral connotations.

(2:7a) περὶ πάντα: *in all respects* (BAGD s.v. περί 2.d). This is not a separate proposition, but is discussed separately because it can be construed either with σωφρονεῖν (2:6) or with παρεχόμενος (2:7b). The difficulty of the choice is indicated by the even division of commentators and versions.¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, this particular ambiguity is not caused by our lack of contextual information; it is a purely grammatical ambiguity that must

¹⁴⁵ Admittedly, Timothy is instructed to exhort (παρακάλει) older people (1 Tim 5:1-2). However, there παρακάλει is set against the stronger ἐπιπλήξῃς and also qualified by *as fathers/mothers*. Both passages bear out the importance of respectfulness when instructing older people.

¹⁴⁶ Its cognates are found in 1:8, 2:2, 4, 5, and 12.

¹⁴⁷ Among the commentators, Banker (1987), Barrett (1963), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Hendriksen (1957), Kelly (1963), Lea and Griffin (1992), Quinn (1990), Scott (1936), and Towner (1994) link it to σωφρονεῖν, while Brown (1917), Ellicott (1864), Fee (1988), Guthrie (1957), Hiebert (1978), Houlden (1976), Lenski (1946), Lock (1924) construe it with παρεχόμενος; Knight (1992) does not commit. Among the versions, the former interpretation is reflected in CEV, NA27, NLT, REB, and UBS4, the latter in GNB, NET, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, RSV, TR, and WH.

have been just as unclear to the original readers. So how, according to relevance theory, would it have been interpreted? I suspect that it would be interpreted differently by Titus (or the church leader he represents) and the younger men in the audience. Titus would probably construe it with παρεχόμενος because that would be the most relevant meaning for him; conversely, the younger men would construe it with σωφρονεῖν for the same reason.

Since the problem cannot be resolved here, I shall turn my attention to translation on the assumption that either interpretation is valid. Unfortunately, English grammar does not permit this ambiguity to be reproduced in translation. Therefore, a direct translation needs to place one rendering in the text and the other in a note.¹⁴⁸ An indirect translation has to choose an interpretation. I prefer *self-controlled in all respects* because it maximises relevance for a majority of readers—the target readers are more likely to identify with the younger men (the followers) than with Titus (the leader).

(2:7b) σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων. The forefronted σεαυτὸν marks a change of topic from younger men to Titus himself. παρέχω: *to offer, present, show*. Robertson (1934:811) and BDF (§316.3) suggest that the middle voice in conjunction with σεαυτὸν is redundant. Moule (1959:24) takes a different view: “Moulton [1908] suggests that the *form* of the Middle, as contrasted with that of the Active, calls attention ... to the pronominal element.” Here it calls upon “Titus to keep¹⁴⁹ doing certain things *himself* over and above exhorting others” (Quinn 1990:124). τύπος is a *pattern, model, or example*; so τύπον καλῶν ἔργων is simply *an example of good works*. σεαυτὸν and τύπον form a double accusative construction of the kind Wallace (1996:183-89) calls an object-complement construction. This was a common idiom in Greek that requires the insertion of *as* or *to be* in an English translation.

παρεχόμενος “is dependent upon the preceding imperative παρακάλει ‘urge’, and thus functions as an additional exhortation” (Greenlee 1989:59). Semantically, it elaborates on the manner or means in which Titus is to carry out his teaching. Banker (1994:69) regards it as “a *manner* constituent” alluding back to 2:1 and describing how Titus is to carry out his teaching responsibility in Crete. However, most commentators connect it directly with 2:6 as an expression of *how* Titus is to exhort the younger men; this can be taken as either a means or a manner constituent. Titus’ behaviour would logically serve as a crucial means of teaching and exhorting the younger men to godly behaviour.

¹⁴⁸ The failure of the NET to provide such a note is mystifying.

¹⁴⁹ Due to the force of the present tense.

(2:7c-8a) ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν, σεμνότητα, λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον.

This collection of instructions, which are grammatically dependent on παρεχόμενος in 2:7b, allows for a seemingly endless number of possible interpretations (cf. Knight 1992:312-13). However, since space does not permit me to recap on all the permutations, I shall briefly review only the two main alternatives.

On the one hand, if ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ modifies only ἀφθορίαν, then the unit represents a three-fold description of Titus' life,¹⁵⁰ with the three items representing specific examples of καλῶν ἔργων.¹⁵¹ ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν: *innocent in your teaching (ministry)*, probably referring not being motivated by love of money (Quinn 1990:125). σεμνότητα: *reverend, serious, dignified* (cf. 2:2a). λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον: *sound speech, which cannot be condemned*; as this gloss suggests, this interpretation takes λόγος to mean *speech*.¹⁵² On the other hand, if the prepositional phrase ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ modifies all three nouns, ἀφθορίαν, σεμνότητα, and λόγον, then the unit represents a three-fold description of Titus' teaching.¹⁵³ This presupposes the repetition παρεχόμενος and gives rise to two co-ordinate ideas: (a) in your conduct show yourself to be example of good works and (b) in your teaching show integrity, seriousness, and soundness. The context—setting an example of good works—appears to favour three separate lifestyle-related examples of specific good works, but the forefronted position of ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, suggesting that it modifies all three accusatives, is a more compelling consideration. For the author to single out Titus' conduct in his teaching ministry for special attention is sensible since that was the stage from which his example would be most visible and influential.

Working on assumption that ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ governs all three nouns, διδασκαλία must refer to Titus' teaching ministry, that is, the act of teaching instead of the content of teaching. ἀφθορία, *without corruption, integrity, soundness*, denotes "purity of motive, without desire of gain or respect of persons" (Rienecker 1980:654). It sets Titus' ministerial motive in sharp contrast to that of the false teachers (cf. 1:11d). σεμνότης denotes dignified

¹⁵⁰ Three-fold rather than four-fold because almost everyone takes ἀκατάγνωστον as an attributive modifier of λόγον rather than an independent item. Quinn (1990) is a notable exception.

¹⁵¹ Quinn (1990) supports this view, basing his argument largely on the fact that the variant reading ἀφθονίαν indicates that the early church interpreted the list as describing the character of the teacher rather than the teaching. Knight (1992:312-13) also seems to prefer this view, though he does not commit himself.

¹⁵² English speakers sometimes use *word* in the same way, as in such expressions as being kind in word and deed.

¹⁵³ Most commentators support this interpretation, including Banker (1987), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Fee (1988), Guthrie (1957), Hendriksen (1957), Kelly (1963), Lea and Griffin (1992), and Towner (1994).

behaviour that commands respect (cf. 2:2a). λόγος must then be taken as *message*, the content of Titus' preaching (cf. 1:3, 9, and 2:5). ὑγιής and ἀκατάγνωστος are both attributive modifiers of λόγος,¹⁵⁴ implying that his message must be so doctrinally sound as to be beyond just reproach. Thus the three nouns refer respectively to the *motive, manner, and content* of Titus' teaching.

Turning to translation, *in your teaching* is best for direct translation since *teaching*, like διδασκαλία, can denote either the act or content of teaching. For indirect translation, *when you teach* focuses attention on the act of teaching, thus reducing the interpretive burden placed on the reader. As a direct translation, *integrity, dignity, and a sound message that cannot be criticized* (NET) best represents my preferred interpretation. However, for indirect translation simply *soundness* captures the force of λόγος ὑγιής concisely and clearly. The alternate interpretation, which requires mention in a direct translation, is best represented by the NASB.¹⁵⁵

(2:8b) ἵνα ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐντραπή. The ἵνα clause states the purpose of the instructions addressed to Titus (2:7b-8a). The imagery involved here is that of someone publicly bringing charges against Titus, but being embarrassed when he cannot muster any verifiable evidence of wrongdoing (Quinn 1990:143). ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας: *the opponent* (Zerwick 1996:469). The singular has a generic force, referring not to any specific opponent but to "anyone who may oppose" (Knight 1992:313). However, the quarter from which the anticipated opponents are likely to come is debated. Fee 1988:189 (cf. Kelly 1963:243; Knight 1992:313) believes the false teachers of 1:10-16 are primarily in view, but this is most unlikely. Assuming the paraenesis of 2:1-10 is aimed at countering the subversive teachings of false teachers, how would the implementation of the very moral code their teachings were subverting impress or silence them? The goal of the paraenesis is to protect the church's reputation with the outside world—it was being threatened by the code of conduct the false teachers were promoting. Furthermore, the author could have made specific reference to the opponents of 1:10-16 by using the plural οἱ ἐξ ἐναντίας because the article would then have an anaphoric force referring back to πολλοί (1:10a). The generic singular suggests a broader frame of reference. It is "deliberately vague" (Kelly 1963:243) and would include anyone

¹⁵⁴ Compare λόγος ὑγιής with ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία (1:9, 2:1) and ὑγιαίνωσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει (1:13).

¹⁵⁵ Curiously, several major translations straddle the two interpretations by placing *in your teaching* at the front, followed by *integrity* and *dignity*, but then continue with *soundness of speech* (NIV, NRSV, RSV).

who opposes Christianity, whether Jews, Jewish Christians (Quinn 1990:143) or, more likely, Gentiles (Lock 1924:143; Towner 1994:241; White n.d.:193).

The passive of ἐντρέπω means *be put to shame, be ashamed* (BAGD s.v. 2.a). The point is that though they may challenge the conduct and teaching of Paul and Titus, they will not be able to substantiate their accusations. It implies that Titus' good lifestyle will prevent his opponents from accusing him of wrongdoing (they will *be ashamed*), but if they do venture to accuse him, they will be publicly disproved by his impeccable example (they will *be put to shame*).

A direct translation can translate fairly literally, except that it should not render ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας with the definite *the opponent* (NASB), which strongly implies a particular opponent. Most indefinite constructions are fine, such as *any opponent* (NRSV, REB), *an opponent* (RSV), or *anyone who opposes*.

(2:8c) μηδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ ἡμῶν φαῦλον. This is a grounds proposition, stating the reason the opponents will be ashamed (2:8b). ἔχων is a causal participle modifying ἐντραπῇ. μηδὲν is used substantivally and takes φαῦλον as an attributive modifier, hence *nothing bad*. They are separated so as to emphasise φαῦλον, a device known as hyperbaton. The effect could be paraphrased *because they have nothing to say about us, that is, nothing bad*. Knight (1992:313) regards ἡμῶν (the variant ὑμῶν is too poorly attested to merit consideration) as an inclusive second person plural that refers to the whole believing community in Crete, but Quinn (1990:143) is probably correct that it refers only to Paul and his co-worker Titus. The context seems to have Titus' public ministry in view, a ministry in which he represented Paul as an apostolic delegate. φαῦλος, *bad* or *evil*, always denotes what is intrinsically morally bad (LN §88.116). The point is, as Knight correctly observes, "not ... that Titus' good life will keep opponents from every saying anything negative about Christians, but that it will not give an opponent grounds to accuse Christians of anything morally 'bad' or 'evil.'" The clause does not refer to people slandering of Titus in secret, but to anyone openly accusing him of moral wrongdoing. They either will not dare to challenge him, or if they do, they will be publicly embarrassed by not being able to substantiate their claims.

The straightforward translation *because he has nothing bad to say about us* (with *bad* italicised in an attempt to convey the emphasis of the word order of the original text) is clear enough for direct and indirect translation.

(2:9a) Δούλους ἰδίοις δεσπόταις ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἐν πᾶσιν. The forefronted δούλους marks a change of topic (Banker 1994:72), introducing the final group to be

addressed—*slaves*. Since Greco-Roman households invariably included slaves, the NT house-codes included a section on master-slave relations. The omission of instructions to masters is probably due to the needs of the Cretan situation (Towner 1989:175). Towner (1994:241) explains:

Since slaves were part of the Hellenistic household, it is quite possible that the false teachers' disruption of Cretan households (1:11) accounts for the kind of disrespectful behavior among slaves implied by this set of instructions.

The grammar of this instruction is identical to that in 2:2a and 2:3a, presupposing the repetition of παρακάλει (2:6a). Just as Titus was to *exhort the younger men to be self-controlled in all things*, so he is to *exhort slaves to be subject to their masters in all things*.

Δοῦλος “is a generic term for all types of slaves” (Banker 1994:72); it presupposes the Greco-Roman system of slavery as practiced in urban settings in which slaves formed part of their master's household (Bartchy 1996). Their slavery differs markedly from the Western concept of slavery as practiced in America during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although slave owners held complete legal authority over their slaves (Keener 1993:638), including the power of life and death (Bartchy 1996), society encouraged fair treatment of slaves (Towner 1994:242). As a result, many domestic slaves were better off than free peasants.¹⁵⁶ Being property, however, they had no rights, including no right to marry (Quinn 1990:145). Only in religious matters were slaves regarded as persons rather than property (Quinn 1990:145). There were no race or class restrictions on slavery; in fact, many slaves were highly educated and held responsible positions within the household (Lea and Griffin 1992:304). Finally, the prospect of manumission was real and served as a strong motivation for good service. From this brief description it is clear that δοῦλος implies an assumption schema that has no modern equivalent.

ὑποτασσόμαι, middle of ὑποτάσσω, implies *submitting or submitting oneself* to the authority of another.

“Subordination” (or “subjection”) was the traditional abbreviation for *willing acceptance* of the realities of this social institution and compliant, respectful behaviour within it.... This meant complete recognition of the master's authority (Towner 1994:242, italics added).

¹⁵⁶ Some slaves, however, suffered extreme cruelty at the hands of abusive masters (Lea and Griffin 1992:304).

ὑποτασσόμαι was actually a generic term for willing acceptance of any form of authority and submission to the traditional values of society (cf. 2:5 and 3:1). Its focus is on the slave's inward attitude of submission since he/she was in forced outward subjection. Towner (1994:242) regards ὑποτασσόμαι as synonymous with ὑπακούω in Eph 6:5 and Col 3:22, but Guthrie (1957:196) believes it to be a stronger term.

The owners are designated as ἰδίοις δεσπόταις. δεσπότης is a stronger term than κύριος (cf. Eph 6:5, Col 3:22). Whereas κύριος denotes "right of use," δεσπότης implies "unqualified ownership" (Quinn 1990:146) or "complete authority" (Greenlee 1989:62). Banker (1994:72) argues that ἴδιος is used here "without any clearly felt contrast" (BAGD s.v. 1.b), being equivalent to αὐτῶν (cf. BDF §286).

Finally, ἐν πᾶσιν poses problems because it can be construed with ὑποτάσσεσθαι or with εὐαρέστους (2:9b). Huther (1893, quoted in Knight 1992:314) argues that to produce contextual effects it must modify εὐαρέστους because it is in any case implicit with ὑποτάσσεσθαι. However, overwhelming evidence suggests that it goes with ὑποτάσσεσθαι. Firstly, it would be unnaturally prominent if modifying 2:9b (Banker 1994:72). Secondly, the author of the Pastoral Epistles made a habit of using ἐν πᾶσιν at the end of clauses (cf. 1 Tim 3:11, 2 Tim 2:7, 4:5, and Tit 2:10). Thirdly, 2:9a is a generic exhortation of which 2:9b-10b are specific exhortations; ἐν πᾶσιν serves to make the generic as broad as possible. Fourthly, Paul uses similar construction to modify generic exhortations for submission in Ephesians 5:24 and Colossians 3:22.¹⁵⁷ Fifthly, the author seems to have deliberately placed ἐν πᾶσιν at the end of the first and last clauses of 2:9-10 to create a kind of poetic symmetry (Knight 1992:314). Slaves must submit to their masters *in all things* so that they may adorn the gospel *in all things*. What occurs between is explanatory, almost parenthetical.

Any indirect translation of this clause is doomed to be a communicative failure because modern concepts of slavery are vastly different from that of the Greco-Roman period. Since we place great value on human rights, it is almost impossible for us to understand a social system in which slaves had no rights. By contrast, ancient slaves accepted slavery as a fact of life and recognised submission as their social responsibility. For a direct translation, δεσπότης is best rendered *owner* (CEV) to convey the idea of complete authority. To prevent the comparative notion that *their own* suggests, ἴδιος should be rendered *their* (e.g. CEV, GNB, NIV, NRSV, RSV). *Submit* conveys the connotation willing acceptance.

¹⁵⁷ In Ephesians 5:24 ἐν παντί modifies ὑποτάσσεται, while in Colossians 3:22 κατὰ πάντα modifies ὑπακούετε.

(2:9b-10b) This section consists of four instructions that function as specifics of the generic instruction in 2:9a. The four instructions consists of two positives, placed first and last, with two negatives inserted in the middle. These are best analysed as forming a chiasmic structure in which the two positives represent generic instructions and the two negatives serve as their respective specifics (Banker 1994; similarly Knight 1992:315).

(2:9b) εὐαρέστους εἶναι. LN (§25.94) defines εὐάρεστος as “that which causes someone to be pleased,” hence *pleasing*. The present tense of εἶναι is best regarded as a conative present, reflecting a desire or an attempt to please their masters. The NIV’s *to try to please* captures this neatly, as does *aiming to please them* (Quinn 1990:117).

(2:9c) μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας. This proposition is a negative specific that serves to qualify exactly what the author has in mind by εὐαρέστους εἶναι (2:9b). ἀντιλέγω, *to speak against* (BAGD s.v. 1), includes nuances of *contradicting, arguing, opposing, refusing, and talking back*. It calls slaves not to oppose their owner’s will in any way (Banker 1994:73; Guthrie 1957:197), whether in word, by talking back to them or arguing with them, or in deed, by not following their instructions. The ancients had a popular stereotype in which slaves were ill-mannered and rebellious, frequently expressing defiance through sarcastic muttering or direct challenges (Keener 1993:638). Christians slaves must be “fully compliant” (Towner 1994:242) and follow orders without questioning or complaining. Thereby, they will break the stereotype and bring credit to the gospel.

Thus the point of 2:9b-c taken together is that slaves were to please their owners by doing what they were told without complaining or arguing. Once again an indirect translation struggles to convey the point because the original communicates, quite weakly, a whole range of implicatures commonly associated with the way slaves responded to their owners’ instructions. ἀντιλέγω does not specify one specific kind of opposition. All attempts to render it in English are too narrow in their implicatures; they cannot convey the implicatures of (a) talking back to their owners, (b) grumbling about them, and (c) undermining them by not following their orders. One way broaden the scope of 2:9c is to reformulate it as a positive statement. Something like *try to please them by complying fully with their instructions* comes close to capturing the broadness of ἀντιλέγω and showing that εὐάρεστος relates directly to the owner’s instructions. Unfortunately, this rendering breaks the chiasmic structure of the passage: positive generic—negative specific, negative specific—positive generic. Even a direct translation has difficulty; it must attempt to achieve interpretive resemblance by choosing a broad gloss for ἀντιλέγω and then explaining the stereotype of the rebellious slave in the hope that the reader will infer the diverse kinds of opposition that would arise.

(2:10a) μὴ νοσφιζομένους. This unit is semantically subordinate to the one following 2:10b; the two stand in a generic-specific relationship, with this being the specific component. These pick up on a second aspect of stereotypical slaves, namely, that they were “liable to steal when they could” (Keener 1993:638). νοσφίζω: *put aside, misappropriate, or embezzle* money. Slaves occupied many responsible positions in society, including serving as “doctors, teachers, writers, accountants, agents, bailiffs, overseers, secretaries, and sea-captains” (Hopkins 1978:123). In these roles they often handled money or goods that belonged to their owners. They could easily be tempted to keep back some of the money, perhaps in the hope of using it to buy their freedom (Ferguson 1993:57). Thus the reference is to either stealing from their masters or keeping back what they were supposed to hand over to them.

Pilfer (NASB, NET, NKJV, NRSV, REB, RSV) is the most accurate English gloss, but since it is a little known word the more common *steal (from them)* (CEV, GNB, NIV, NLT) will probably provide a clearer communicative clue.

(2:10b) ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθήν. The adversative conjunction marks this proposition as being in contrast to what precedes. One possibility is to take it as contrasting with both the preceding negatives (2:9c and 2:10a) and, therefore, a restatement of 2:9b. However, 2:9b-c seems to form a semantic unit, as does 2:10a-b. Therefore, it is probable that this clause is contrasted only with 2:10a and serves as a second specific of 2:9a (cf. Banker 1994:60).

For the rest, this clause is easy to understand and translate. ἐνδείκνυμι: *show, demonstrate, prove* (Thayer 1980:213) something to someone. πᾶσαν πίστιν ἀγαθήν: *all good faith* (NASB). πίστις is used in the passive sense of *being trustworthy*, not the active sense of *trusting* their owners (Banker 1994:73). Both πᾶσαν and ἀγαθήν are attributive modifiers of πίστιν;¹⁵⁸ together they serve to emphasise the extent of the trustworthiness required—Christian slaves must be *completely* trustworthy. All major translations capture the force of πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθήν adequately.

Let us now consider the translation of the section 2:9a-10b as a whole. Assuming that Banker’s (1994:60) semantic and structural analysis is correct, as I have argued, how can it be made clear in translation? No English translation makes the relations between the propositions clear. Some punctuate so as to group 2:9a-b as a unit distinct from 2:9c-10b (CEV, GNB,

¹⁵⁸ Wallace (1996:188-89, 312-13) alone argues that ἀγαθήν is a predicate adjective forming, together with πίστιν, an object-complement double accusative construction. He suggests translating “showing all faith [to be] good.” This interpretation is extremely unlikely to be correct since the immediate context concerns slaves proving that they can be trusted with their owners’ goods.

NLT, NRSV, REB, RSV), which does not do justice to the author's argument. Others simply translate all five propositions as a list (NASB, NIV, NKJV); this is acceptable, at least for a direct translation, but not as clear as possible. Since the passage depends on foreign contextual information for correct interpretation, thereby increasing processing effort, it seems desirable—essential for an indirect translation—to try to reduce processing effort by making the semantic structure of the argument as clear as possible.

By making full use of English punctuation, translations should try to (a) set the generic 2:9a apart from the rest—whether with a colon, semi-colon, dash, or period, (b) mark 2:9b-10b as parenthetical material elaborating on 2:9a, and (c) mark the chiasmic structure of the four specifics as well as the fact that they form two pairs. In my direct translation I have tried to do so with minimum change in form; by using dashes after 2:9a and 2:10b, I have set 2:9a apart, marked 2:9b-10b as parenthetical, and connected the purpose clause of 2:10c with 2:9a. In my indirect translation I have tried to reduce processing effort by breaking the section up into short sentences and marking the chiasmic structure of 2:9b-10b with *they must ... instead of ..., instead of ... they must ...*.

(2:10c) ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πάσιν.

The paraenesis concludes with another ἵνα clause, this time stating the purpose of the instructions to slaves. As in the case of the younger women (2:4-5), concluding the lengthy instructions to slaves with a purpose clause implies that slaves were causing problems in the Cretan church, probably by challenging traditional social roles on the basis of their new found equality and freedom in Christ (Guthrie 1957; Towner 1989). At any rate, socially unacceptable behaviour on the part of women or slaves was most likely to damage the church's reputation. "Slaves were known to be attracted to new religions, often with disruptive results" (Towner 1994:242). Since Christianity was a new religion with a dubious reputation, exemplary behaviour on the part of those slaves who became Christians would help a great deal to improve Christianity's reputation with outsiders.

κοσμέω: *adorn, decorate* (BAGD s.v. 2). It denotes anything that makes a person or place look attractive. Here it is used of good works that make the gospel attractive to outsiders and thereby bring credit to God (Guthrie 1957:197; Knight 1992:315; Lea and Griffin 1992:308). τὴν διδασκαλίαν refers to what is taught (cf. 1:9b and 2:1); it refers more specifically to the theology that follows than to the paraenesis that precedes. With or without the repetition of τὴν, τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ functions as an objective genitive phrase (Banker 1994:74; Knight 1992:315). This use of the article to introduce an "attributive genitive" is rare, here serving to emphasise τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ (Quinn 1990:128). The

effect could be reproduced with a paraphrase such as *the teaching, that is to say, the one concerning God our Saviour*. Concerning the translation of τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, see 1:3b. Just as the instructions to slaves opened with a generic statement and generalised its scope with ἐν πᾶσιν, so too they close with ἐν πᾶσιν to clarify that it is not only by following the specific instructions listed that they are to make the gospel attractive, but by everything they do.

Since κοσμέω represents a dead metaphor (Banker 1994:73), the metaphor can be retained via *adorn* (NASB, NKJV, RSV) or *ornament* (NRSV), or removed via *make attractive* (NIV) or *bring credit to*. The literal *the teaching about God our Saviour* is clear enough for any kind of translation. Rendering τὴν διδασκαλίαν as a verbal phrase, *what is taught*, is not inaccurate but neither is it necessary to achieve communicative success. Unfortunately, there is no natural way to retain the force the second article τήν in translation.

2.5. Titus 2:11-14

2.5.1. Translations

Table 8. Translations of Titus 2:11-14

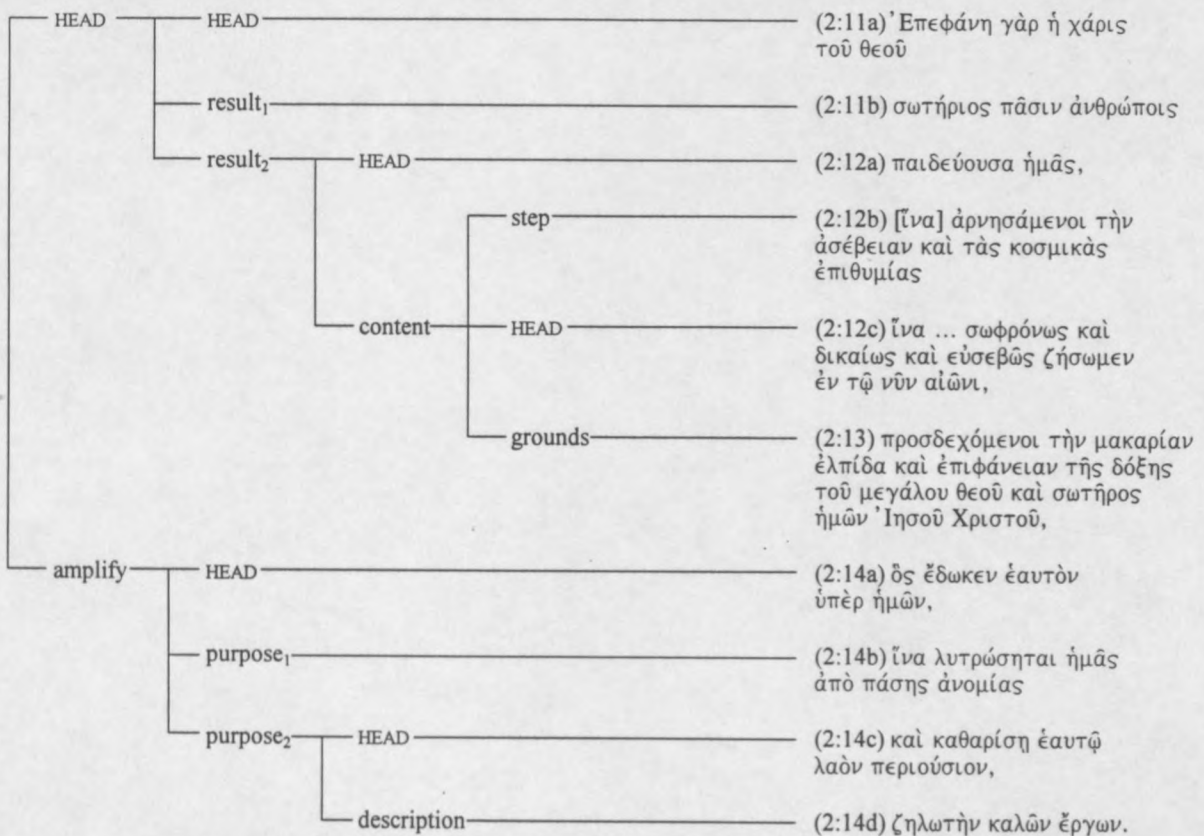
Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
11 For the grace of God has appeared, bringing salvation to all men, 12 training us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts and to live self-controlled, upright, and godly lives in the present age 13 as we anticipate the blessed hope—the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. 14 He gave himself for us to redeem us from every lawless deed and to purify for himself a people of his own, eager to do good works.	11 For God has manifested his grace by sending Jesus Christ, providing salvation for all people 12 and training us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts and to conduct ourselves with self-control, uprightness, and godliness in the present age 13 since we live in anticipation of the blessed hope—the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. 14 He offered his life for us to set us free from every sinful habit and to cleanse us as a people who belong exclusively to him, a people eager to do good works.

2.5.2. Discourse Unit

γάρ functions as a marker of grounds on the paragraph level, indicating the beginning of a new paragraph. This entire paragraph depends on a single main verb (ἐπεφάνη) and coheres around the theme of salvation.

The only significant structural issue in this unit is how to describe the relationship between 2:11a, 2:11b, and 2:12a. Banker (1994:75, 78-79) argues that 2:12a is semantically co-ordinate with 2:11a. He diagrams these two as parallel head statements, with 2:11b expressing the purpose of 2:11a (though he does not treat 2:11b as a separate proposition). This analysis seems most unlikely since it requires treating παιδεύουσα as an attendant circumstance participle, a most unnatural interpretation of it. More natural is to treat both σωτήριος (2:11b) and παιδεύουσα (2:12a) as predicates of χάρις (2:11a). The question then is whether they express the purpose or result of 2:11a. I preferred to label them as result clauses because the author is referring to what the coming of Christ has accomplished. The remainder of 2:12-13 expands on the content of grace's instruction, while 2:14 expounds upon Christ's saving work.

Diagram 9. Semantic Structure of 2:11-14



2.5.3. Commentary

(2:11a) Ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ. γὰρ marks a grounds relationship on the paragraph level, with 2:11-14 serving as a grounds unit for 2:1-10. The passive of ἐπιφαίνω means *to appear, become visible* (Thayer 1980:245). In addition to its basic meaning of *appear*, the word has two important connotations: it refers (a) to a sudden appearance on a scene (Lock 1924:143; Rienecker 1980:654) and (b) to “the manifestation or ‘epiphany’ of a god (or hero) to bring help” (Towner 1994:244; cf. Bultmann and Lührmann 1985; Rienecker 1980:654). Furthermore, ἐπεφάνη is a divine passive; it refers to God demonstrating, manifesting, or revealing his grace (Banker 1994:77). ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (16x in Paul) refers to the free favour which God shows to undeserving human beings. As a whole, the clause refers to the entire first appearance of Jesus Christ in which he provided salvation for mankind (2:11b). Christ is not himself the grace of God, as if ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ were a Christological title, but his coming is the ultimate demonstration of God’s grace toward mankind.

A direct translation can simply render at face value, hence *for the grace of God has appeared* (NRSV, RSV). However, this rendering creates two difficulties for an indirect translation. Firstly, English has no idiom corresponding to the so-called divine passive. Since the context does not mark God as the agent of the revelation, English readers will likely fail to grasp that it was God who revealed his grace by sending Christ. Secondly, the English word *appeared* (or any other English gloss for ἐπιφαίνω) conveys no suggestion of the appearing of a deity to bring help. Therefore, English readers are likely to miss the text’s clear allusion to the first coming of Christ as the demonstration of God’s grace, an implicature that would have been clear to Greek readers from the epiphany language. To improve the prospects of communicative success, an indirect translation needs to reformulate ἐπεφάνη as an active verb with God as its subject (CEV, GNB) and explicate the allusion to Christ’s incarnation.¹⁵⁹

(2:11b) σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. This proposition states what the historical manifestation of God’s grace has accomplished—it has provided salvation for all people (Banker 1994; Brown 1917; Kelly 1963; Lock 1924; Scott 1936). σωτήριος, *saving, bringing salvation* (BAGD), is a predicate modifier of χάρις (BDF §269.3; Moule 1959:114); it specifies something that the now manifest grace of God does. The variant ἡ σωτήριος is well enough attested and significant enough to deserve mention in a footnote. It turns the present

¹⁵⁹ The CEV has attempted this with *God has shown us how kind he is by coming to save all people*, but this obscures the roles of God and Christ in the plan of salvation.

clause into an attributive modifier of χάρις, hence *the grace that brings salvation* (cf. NKJV, following TR). Although πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις could conceivably modify ἐπεφάνη (NIV, NKJV), it most likely modifies σωτήριος (all commentators). ἀνθρώποις is generic, referring not to men specifically but to all human beings.

The straightforward *bringing salvation to all men* is probably best for a direct translation. *Bringing salvation* implies providing salvation and is thus better than simply *saving*. My objection to renderings like *for the salvation of all men* (RSV; cf. GNB) and *with saving power* (Mounce 1959:114) is not that they misrepresent the author's meaning but that they obscure the fact that σωτήριος is parallel to παιδεύουσα (2:12a).

(2:12a) παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς. παιδεύουσα is most naturally treated as a simple predicate participle modifying χάρις and stating what the appearance of God's grace does (Knight 1992:319; Greenlee 1989:70). In other words, it is semantically parallel to σωτήριος. παιδεύω is a broad, general word (Greenlee 1989:70; Knight 1992:319) that alludes to all that is involved in training people, usually children (Vine 1985:97, 328), as to how they should conduct themselves (LN §33.226, 36.10). Its nuances include *teaching* or *instructing*, and *correcting* or *disciplining* ("corrective guidance," Richards 1985:228). Commentators are divided over whether the primary connotation here is to preventative instruction or corrective instruction (cf. Greenlee 1989:70). Therefore, it makes sense to follow Banker's (1994:79) suggestion and translate it with the most generic English term available—*training*. ἡμᾶς is inclusive, referring to all Christians. It replaces πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις because the educative function of grace's appearing is only effective in the lives of those who believe in Christ.

(2:12b) [ἵνα] ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας. ἵνα governs 2:12b-c, indicating the content and purpose of grace's instruction (Knight 1992:319).¹⁶⁰

Grammatically, ἀρνησάμενοι is subordinate to ζήσωμεν; semantically, two interpretations are possible. Firstly, it could be a causal¹⁶¹ participle—a constative aorist depicting a once-for-all act of denial that is antecedent in time to the action of main verb (ζήσωμεν) and supplies the grounds for 2:12c. As such it refers back to conversion (which

¹⁶⁰ ἵνα is bracketed here because it actually governs the verb ζήσωμεν in 2:12c; the participial clause is subordinate to ζήσωμεν.

¹⁶¹ One could also make a case for understanding ἀρνησάμενοι as expressing manner or means.

some equate directly with baptism) at which Christians make a solemn decision to repudiate all ungodliness and to live godly lives from then on.¹⁶²

Alternatively, it could be an attendant circumstantial participle (Greenlee, cited by Banker 1994:80), drawing its semantic mood from ζήσωμεν. This would make the construction semantically equivalent to ἵνα ἀρνησώμεθα ... καὶ ζήσωμεν, except that the author's chosen construction gives greater prominence to the positive ζήσωμεν clause. Therefore, παιδεύουσα, which governs the entire construction (2:12b-c), dictates both the time and nature of the required *denying* and *living*; these are not perceived as taking place once-for-all at conversion, but as taking place whenever grace's instruction is received. They may be repeated experiences because παιδεύουσα has an iterative force. The two aorists simply imply that any time grace's instruction is received, a solemn act of denial and a fresh commitment to a godly lifestyle should result.¹⁶³

The second view is preferable because (a) it is the most natural reading of the text, (b) its focus on the present conduct of believers best supplies the grounds of the paraenesis in 2:1-10, and (c) it better suits the immediate context in which the historical teachings of Jesus are likely to have abiding significance for his followers.

ἀρνέομαι: *deny, renounce, reject, refuse, say 'no' to*. ἀσέβεια: *impiety, ungodliness*, is the opposite of εὐσέβεια (Vine 1985:651), hence failure to show reverence for God in one's behaviour (cf. εὐσεβῶς in 2:12c). κοσμικαὶ ἐπιθυμίαι: *worldly lusts/desires*. This phrase refers to "all desires entirely centred in the present world system" (Guthrie 1957:198). κοσμικός "takes its ethical connotation from the NT use of the noun *kosmos* to describe the world apart from God" (Guthrie 1957:198). The fact that both objects are articular implies that they should be understood as distinct; together they represent the full scope of all that is morally wrong. Knight (1992:320) regards the singular τὴν ἀσέβειαν as denoting the "root principle" of godlessness and the plural τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας as representing "its many concrete manifestations."

The relationship between ἀρνησάμενοι and ζήσωμεν can only be captured in English by using a coordinating conjunction; unfortunately, the greater prominence placed on

¹⁶² This interpretation is supported by Alford (1856), Gealy and Noyes (1955), Kelly (1963), Lenski (1946), and White (n.d.).

¹⁶³ This interpretation is supported by Banker (1987), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Fee (1988), Greenlee (1989), Houlden (1976), Knight (1992), Lea and Griffin (1992), Lock (1924), Quinn (1990), and Towner (1994), and all translations (except that the KJV and the NKJV are ambiguous).

ζήσωμεν cannot be retained. The content ἵνα clause is most naturally rendered with an English infinitive.

(2:12c) ἵνα ... σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι. This unit is the semantically more prominent part of grace's instruction (2:12a). ζήσωμεν: *live*, here in the sense of *conduct oneself* or *behave* (LN §41.2). The three adverbs modify ζήσωμεν by describing the manner of conduct the author has in mind. σωφρόνως: *self-controlled, sensibly, moderately* (cf. σώφρων, 1:8). δικαίως: *uprightly, righteously*. εὐσεβῶς: *godliness, piety, reverence* (cf. εὐσεβεία, 1:3). The final term is thematic in the Pastoral Epistles. The εὐσεβ- word group "indicated fulfilment of obligations and resultant acceptability to God" (Richards 1985:315). Towner (1989:147-52) shows that they embrace an important array of assumptions: basically, they refer to an attitude of reverence or respect toward God that issues from knowledge of God and results in godly conduct, that is, fulfilling one's duties toward God. The three adverbs indicate the believer's responsibility to self, others, and God (Föerster 1985; Knight 1992:320). The repetition of καί between the adjectives "calls attention to each adverb separately" (Greenlee 1989:73; cf. BDF §460.2). The "adverbs are forefronted for emphasis" (Greenlee 1989:73).

Since *live*, like ζάω, can refer to one's manner of conduct, there is no reason not to render literally, though an indirect translation has the option of rendering *behave* or *conduct ourselves*. As a rule, English does not repeat *and* between items in a list. Furthermore, italicising all three adjectives would overemphasise them. Therefore, neither the polysyndetic use of καί nor the emphasis on the three adverbs can be reproduced naturally in translation.

The prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι is also an adverbial modifier of ζήσωμεν. Whereas the three adverbs express the manner of ζήσωμεν, this phrase provides its temporal framework. This phrase presupposes a first-century Jewish worldview in which the present age is characterised by evil and stands in stark contrast to the coming age which will be characterised by righteousness (Keener 1993:639). The point is presumably that holy living is both possible and necessary in the present age.

(2:13) προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Unfortunately, this extremely complex and controversial verse does not lend itself to subdivision, so I am obliged to discuss it as a unit.

προσδεχόμενοι, (*eagerly*) *awaiting, expecting* (Rienecker 1980:655), is an adverbial participle modifying ζήσωμεν (2:12c) and governing the whole of 2:13. Although it clearly has a temporal connotation (referring to the same period of time as ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, *the*

present age), it is difficult to decide whether the temporal connotation (simultaneous time) is dominant (Fee 1984; Kelly 1963; Lea and Griffin 1992) or whether it is subservient to a causal connotation (Banker 1994; Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972). If temporal, then this proposition contrasts with 2:12c—we must focus on living correctly in the present age, but we must not give up our expectation of the return of Christ. If causal, then this proposition supplies the grounds or motivation for 2:12c—we must live godly lives in the present age because we are anticipating Christ's appearing. The temporal emphasis would make sense if the author's primary goal was to counter an over-realised eschatology without wanting them to neglect their future hope completely, but since his main concern in 2:11-14 is to motivate godly living, the causal emphasis seems more appropriate.

Formal equivalence tends to render προσδεχόμενοι with only a participle (NASB, NKJV, RSV), but this results in an unnatural English construction. Modern English speakers would use some sort of an auxiliary verb to express the idea behind προσδεχόμενοι. Those who regard the temporal nuance as dominant render *while we wait* (NIV, NRSV). If the causal nuance is dominant, either *since we wait* or *because we wait* would be ideal. Whereas an indirect translation should probably choose one or the other, a direct translation does best to remain non-committal with *as we wait* (NET), which combines temporal and causal connotations. In addition, *wait* is a rather weak gloss; *anticipate* captures the implication of eager expectation better than the neutral gloss *wait*.

τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, *the blessed hope*, refers to “the hope that brings blessing” (Fee 1988:195; cf. Towner 1994:246; Banker 1994:81-82). For ἐλπίς, see 1:3. The καί in καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν is exegetical, indicating that the appearing of Christ is the hoped for event that will bring blessing. With or without the repetition of the article before ἐπιφάνειαν, the construction τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ [τὴν] ἐπιφάνειαν would be understood as a hendiadys, a device which “serves ... to avoid a series of dependent genitives” (BDF §442.16; Zerwick 1996:649).¹⁶⁴ The omission of the second τὴν serves to unite the two substantives more closely than if it were present (Robertson 1934:786). Thus, whereas καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν would mean that ἐλπίδα and ἐπιφάνειαν were closely related, καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν tightens the affiliation further, here implying complete identity. Regarding ἐπιφάνεια (cf. ἐπιφαίνω in 2:11), BAGD comments:

¹⁶⁴ In other words, τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν is semantically equivalent to τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπιφανείας.

As a religious technical term it means a visible manifestation of a hidden divinity, either in the form of a personal appearance, or by some deed of power by which its presence is made known.

For τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, *the blessed hope* is fine for either kind of translation. ἐπιφάνεια should be rendered with the gloss that corresponds to the one used for ἐπιφαίνω in 2:11a, whether *appearance*, *manifestation*, or *revelation*. The epexegetical καί is best left untranslated, being replaced with either a comma or a dash, hence *the blessed hope—the appearing ...* (cf. NIV, RSV). The NIV rendering communicates the point more forcefully than something like *the blessed hope and the manifestation ...* (NRSV).

We come now to the massive genitive chain τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which has been the source of considerable debate. Before proceeding to discuss the details, it is worth noting that the general principle to follow when handling genitive chains is that each genitive is dependent on the word immediately preceding it (BDF §168; Turner 1963:281; Wallace 1996:75).

τῆς δόξης is dependent upon ἐπιφάνειαν. Banker (1994:75, 82-83) regards it as an attributive genitive, hence *the glorious appearing* (NIV, NKJV), but Harris (1991) provides three persuasive arguments against this interpretation: (a) it violates our general guideline because τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ would then have to depend on ἐπιφάνειαν rather than on τῆς δόξης; (b) it compromises the verbal parallelism between 2:11 and 2:13; and (c) it “weakens the import of the term δόξα” (Harris 1991:176). Depending on whether the verbal idea expressed by ἐπιφάνειαν is active or passive, τῆς δόξης should be regarded as an objective (*manifesting the glory*) or subjective (*appearing of the glory = the glory appears*) genitive. In either case, *the glory* is the thing being revealed. τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ can then be taken at face value as a possessive genitive modifying τῆς δόξης, that is, *the glory belonging to the great God*.

What, then, is *the glory of God* (δόξα θεοῦ)? δόξα is a technical term that derives its NT significance from its LXX usage. In the LXX δόξα renders דְּבָרָא in passages where it denotes the glory of God. In relation to God, דְּבָרָא “denotes that which makes God impressive. Since God is invisible, it necessarily carries a reference to his self-manifestation” (Kittel and Von Rad 1985). Thus Kittel and Von Rad (1985) say concerning δόξα in the LXX, “The primary sense, then, is the divine glory which comes to expression in God’s acts in creation and history. δόξα is the divine nature in its invisibility or perceptible manifestation.” The NT usage is based on the same sense, as Kittel explains:

While individual nuances may embrace divine honor, splendor, power, or radiance, what is always expressed is the divine mode of being, although with varying stress on the element of visible manifestation (Kittel and Von Rad 1985).

So δόξα refers to a tangible manifestation of the essence of God's invisible nature. Anything that demonstrates something of God's divine nature would be a revelation of the glory of God. The ultimate such revelation will be the second coming of Christ.

δόξα θεοῦ is not a primitive Christological title (cf. Harris 1991:178). It does not refer directly to a person, but to a quality which can be embodied in a person. All three occurrences of ἐπιφαίνω and ἐπιφάνεια (2:11, 13, and 3:4) refer to the making manifest of an impersonal quality of God's nature (grace, glory, and goodness respectively) by means of the appearing of a person who embodies it (Christ on each occasion).

ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ refers to God revealing something of the invisible divine nature (δόξα) by means of the future appearing of Christ. Now let us consider whose glory is to be revealed by the coming of Christ, or to put it in grammatical terms, let us consider the relationship between θεοῦ and σωτῆρος. Do θεοῦ and σωτῆρος refer to one or two persons, and, if to one person, is it to the Father or to Christ?¹⁶⁵

The strongest argument for taking θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος as referring to two persons¹⁶⁶ comes from biblical theology: it is inconceivable that Paul would have called Jesus τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ (Winer 1882:162). Furthermore, the Pauline and Pastoral Epistles contain several similar constructions in which two persons are clearly implied (cf. Eph 5:5, 2 Thes 1:12, 1 Tim 5:21, and 2 Tim 4:1). If this interpretation is adopted, then the point is that the glory of two persons (God and Christ) is made manifest through the appearing of one person (Christ). What is often not recognised is that this interpretation affirms the deity of Christ because δόξα refers to the divine nature. If this view is adopted, it would be expressed as *the appearing of the glory of the great God and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ*. Repeating glory would be even clearer, hence *the appearing of the glory of the great God and the glory of our Saviour, Jesus Christ*.

The strongest argument for taking θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος as referring to one person¹⁶⁷ comes from grammar: it fits the criteria for the so-called Granville Sharp rule (Wallace

¹⁶⁵ Due to space constraints I can only mention the major arguments for each position. For a full examination of the matter, see Harris 1980 and 1991.

¹⁶⁶ This view is supported by Alford (1856), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Huther (1893), Kelly (1963), and White (n.d.).

¹⁶⁷ This view is supported by Banker (1987), Barrett (1963), Brooks and Winberry (1979), Countess (1982), Easton (1948), Ellicott (1864), Guthrie (1957), Hanson (1982), Harris (1980 and 1991), Hendriksen

1996:270-277; Young 1994:63).¹⁶⁸ Since the Sharp rule is followed with complete consistency elsewhere in the NT,¹⁶⁹ there would need to be strong contextual reasons for regarding this as an exception. Another strong argument is that θεὸς καὶ σωτήρ “is stereotyped terminology in both the LXX and Hellenistic religions” (Fee 1988:196) for referring to a single deity. In this view ἡμῶν governs the whole expression, which is translated naturally as *our great God and Saviour*.

If θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος refers to one person, is it to God the Father or to Jesus Christ? In other words, does Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ stand in apposition to τῆς δόξης or to θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος? In the former case, the point would be that the glory of our great God and Saviour (= Father) will be manifest in the second appearance of Jesus Christ. Thus the glory of God is embodied in the person of Jesus Christ, whose return is the final revelation of God’s divine nature (δόξα). In the latter case, the point would be that at his return Christ’s own divine nature will be fully revealed (*our great God and Saviour = Jesus Christ*). Thus the former is a revelation of God’s glory through Christ, the latter a revelation of Christ’s own glory.

Although the verbal and semantic parallels between 2:11, 13, and 3:4 might suggest that ἐπιφάνεια refers to the manifestation of a quality of God the Father’s nature through the coming of Christ, Harris (1991:178) argues conclusively on grammatical grounds that the latter is the author-intended meaning because (a) it is most natural for a noun in apposition to follow the one it modifies, (b) the relative clause in 2:14 “defines the work of Christ as Savior, [so] it is unnatural to dissociate σωτήρος from Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,” and (c) the insertion of ἥτις ἐστίν would have removed all ambiguity.

Contextual considerations confirm that the most likely reading of the text is as implied by the NASB, *the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ*. If Pauline authorship be assumed, the letter was intended for public reading to new converts. Paul could not have relied on their doctrinal or exegetical discernment; he would have had to take responsibility for making the propositional form of his statement match his informative

(1957), Hiebert (1978), Houlden (1978), Knight (1992), Lea and Griffin (1992), Lenski (1946), Lock (1924), Moulton (1908), Quinn (1990), Robertson (1934), Towner (1994), Turner (1963, hesitantly), Wallace (1996), Young (1994), and Zerwick (1990).

¹⁶⁸ For a comprehensive study of the Granville Sharp rule, see Wallace 1995.

¹⁶⁹ Wallace (1996:273) says, “Not counting the christologically significant passages, there are 80 constructions in the NT which fit the *requirements* for Sharp’s rule. But do they all fit the *semantics* of the rule—that is, do the substantives always refer to one and the same person? In a word, yes.” He argues that the constructions referred to above (Eph 5:5, 2 Thes 1:12, 1 Tim 5:21, and 2 Tim 4:1) do not fit the requirements of Sharp’s rule because they include proper names. By contrast, the constructions in Titus 2:13 and 2 Peter 1:1 do fit all the requirements. If they are exceptions in which both substantives do not refer to the same person, they are the only exceptions in the NT.

intention as closely as possible. Since the alternative interpretations could have been expressed unambiguously by inserting an article (καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν) or a relative clause (ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός), the most natural reading of the grammar is probably the intended meaning. If non-Pauline authorship is assumed, the major objection to the most natural reading of the grammar, that Paul would not call Jesus *our great God and Saviour*, is removed.

(2:14a) ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. In terms of the author's flow of thought, 2:14 clarifies by restatement what was said in 2:11-13. In both 2:11-13 and 2:14 the saving work of Christ is presented as having two moral implications: negatively, it curtails sin, while positively, it promotes holiness. Consequently, this proposition, being the main clause of 2:14, is analysed amplifying 2:11a, the main clause of 2:11-13. This verse amplifies the motif of the saving grace of God by setting "forth the work of the Saviour in terms of what he did (the ὃς clause) and in terms of its intended result (the ἵνα clause)" (Knight 1992:326).

Although the ὃς clause is theologically rich (cf. Mark 10:45, Gal 1:4, and 1 Tim 2:6), it poses few problems for translation. ἔδωκεν ἑαυτόν obviously refers to Christ's death on the cross whereby he voluntarily offered his life as a sacrifice for sin; ἑαυτόν is equivalent to τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ in Mark 10:45 (cf. NLT, *he gave his life*). ὑπὲρ is a broader term than ἀντί (Mark 10:45), but in texts dealing with the death of Christ it probably includes the substitutionary implications of ἀντί (cf. Wallace 1996:365-68, 385-89). All commentators agree that it conveys the representative notion *on our behalf*, while some claim that it also involves the substitutionary notion *in our stead* (Knight 1992:327; Lea and Griffin 1992:314-15; Towner 1994:248); the English preposition *for* captures both notions. ἡμῶν is preferred to πάντων (1 Tim 2:6) because the argument of the passage has already moved from the universal provision of salvation (2:11b) to its actualisation in the lives of believers (2:12a). Almost all translations translate it straightforwardly as *he gave himself for us*. My indirect translation makes the reference to his death even more explicit with *he gave his life*.

(2:14b) ἵνα λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας. The ἵνα clause that constitutes 2:14b-c corresponds semantically to the one which constitutes 2:12b-c; it states the purpose of Christ's atoning work.

Shogren (1996) calls λυτρόω "familiar and evocative" language, drawing its significance from the imagery of slave redemption. λυτρόω and its cognates refer to the practice of redeeming slaves from bondage by the payment of a ransom price. In the present case, Christ's death (2:14a) is the ransom price (Guthrie 1981:478), sin is the captor, and God, not Satan, is the one to whom the ransom is paid (Büschel 1985). Banker (1994:85) is surely

right that “the point in focus here is the deliverance from the power of sin, since this is what the whole context is about.” In other words, the main point is that Christ’s death frees believers from the power of sin and makes it possible for them to live holy lives.

A direct translation can assume understanding of how slaves were redeemed in the ancient world. Therefore, it can retain the figurative imagery and render *so that he might redeem us from every lawless deed* or *to redeem us from every lawless deed*. Whether or not a translator renders ἵνα with an English infinitive depends on how important he/she considers it to translate purpose ἵνα clauses uniformly; these clauses are thematically important in the book because they contribute to the textual coherence of the letter. *Every lawless deed* is preferable to *all lawlessness* because the text must communicate an active sense, namely, lawless deeds we commit (the CEV’s *rescue us from everything that is evil* is completely misleading).

An indirect translation cannot reproduce the ransom imagery because we have no practice comparable to redeeming slaves. Therefore, it needs to explicate the central point of the original. The central point seems to be that we were bound by sinfulness but Christ has freed us from that bondage. The best efforts at explicating this are *to set us free from all our evils ways* (Phillips) and *to set us free from every kind of sin* (NLT; cf. REB).

(2:14c) καὶ καθάρισις ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον. This is the second half of the ἵνα clause, combining allusions to Ezekiel 37:23 and Exodus 19:5. The first purpose of Christ’s atoning death was to set believers free from the controlling power of sin (2:14b); the second was to purify them from the pollution of sin (2:14c). καθάρίζω: *cleanse, purify*; this is a dead metaphor referring to the removal of everything sinful—atonement for guilt and healing sinful habits (Banker 1994:86). λαὸν περιούσιον is borrowed from Exod 19:5 (LXX); it denotes believers as being a group of people set apart for God’s special or distinctive possession (LN §57.5). περιούσιος includes connotations of being “a private possession or a special treasure” (Quinn 1990:160).

καθάρίζω can be rendered by *cleanse* or *purify*. English versions use a wide variety of translations to express the force of ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον, almost all of which manage to convey the fact that believers are God’s own special people who belong solely to him.

(2:14d) ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων. This is simply a further description of λαόν. Assuming 2:11-14 to be some sort of traditional creedal material (Quinn 1990), this final phrase may be the author’s own interpolation, expressing the inevitable result of being God’s special people, benefactors of his saving grace (Fee 1988:197). This brings his argument in support of the paraenesis in 2:1-10 to a close (Knight 1992:329). It can be rendered in nominal form *zealous*

for good works (NASB, NRSV, RSV) or transformed into a verbal phrase *eager to do good works* (GNB, NIV) without affecting the meaning.

2.6. Titus 2:15

2.6.1. Translations

Table 9. Translations of Titus 2:15

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
15 Teach <i>these things</i> ; exhort and correct <i>with complete authority</i> . Do not allow anyone to disregard you.	15 Teach <i>these things</i> ; urge believers to follow them and correct anyone who opposes them. As my delegate, you have the authority to do this, so do not let anyone disregard you.

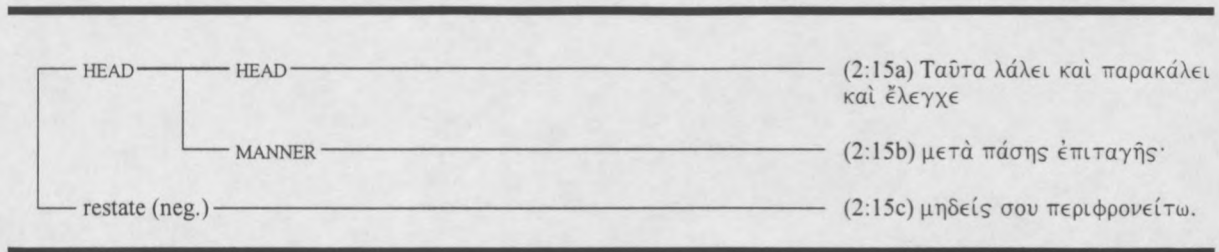
2.6.2. Discourse Unit

Although this verse is often attached either to the preceding or following paragraphs, several factors favour treating it independently. The sharp topical change from theology, with God as the focal participant, back to exhortation (as indicated by the four imperatives in 2:15), with the focus on Titus, sets it apart from 2:11-14. Since 2:15 contains three second person singular imperatives and 3:1 continues with another second person singular imperative, Quinn (1990) groups 2:15 with 3:1-2. However, this misses the significance of the fact that the three second person singular imperatives in 2:15 are the three main verbs governing the section from 1:10-2:10 (λάλει, παρακάλει, and ἔλεγχε). This indicates that in 2:15 the author is summing up what has been said in 1:10-2:14 and bringing that entire section to a close. The more generalised instructions in 3:1-2 represent a new section of paraenesis.

The semantic structure diagram of this verse attempts to combine grammatical and semantic considerations. From a grammatical perspective, the following observations are evident: (a) 2:15a is an independent clause; (b) 2:15b is a prepositional phrase that is subordinate to 2:15a, expressing the *manner* in which Titus must carry out the instructions in 2:15a; and (c) 2:15c is an independent clause. These factors determine the basic outline of diagram 10. They require that 2:15a and 2:15c be shown in a co-ordinate relationship on the far left of the diagram, with 2:15b indented as a modifier of 2:15a. Semantically, however, 2:15b is marked as prominent by virtue of being the only new information in 2:15a-b; therefore, it is capitalised. Furthermore, 2:15c essentially reiterates the point made in 2:15a-b, namely, that Titus must carry out his ministerial duties in a manner that will not permit people

to disregard him; therefore, it is labelled as a restatement of 2:15a-b rather than as a separate head statement.

Diagram 10. Semantic Structure of Titus 2:15



2.6.3. Commentary

(2:15a) Ταῦτα λάλει καὶ παρακάλει καὶ ἔλεγχε. These three imperatives, addressed specifically to Titus, recap what he has been told to do. Ταῦτα has a strong anaphoric force; it is a generic term that includes all the instructions given in 1:10-2:14 (Banker 1994:57-58), as is evident from the fact that the three verbs are the main verbs of the preceding section (cf. 1:13, 2:1, and 2:6). Its forefronted position marks ταῦτα as prominent (Banker 1994:57; Lea and Griffin 1992:316) and suggests that it is the object of all three imperatives (Banker 1994:88; cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:142).

The three verbs are the very ones used to develop the instruction for Titus to complete the unfinished tasks in Crete (1:5c); they also refer to three different ways in which Titus must communicate *these things* (cf. Knight 1992:329). λάλει (cf. 2:1) is the most generic,¹⁷⁰ indicating that he must *teach these things*; it includes both hortatory and doctrinal instruction (Banker 1994:87). Judging from 1:9b-c, παρακάλει and ἔλεγχε refer respectively to urging believers to believe and act right and correcting the wrong beliefs and actions of those who oppose the authoritative apostolic doctrine.

The readers of a direct translation must be able to connect ἔλεγχε with 1:10-16 and παρακάλει with 2:1-10, so the verbs must be uniformly translated throughout. The emphasis on ταῦτα can be captured by using italics or by rephrasing *these are the things you should teach* (NIV); the NASB's hyper-literal attempt to capture this emphasis by forefronting *these things* does not communicate well because this is not a normal way of highlighting the object in an English sentence. An indirect translation should lighten the interpretive burden by making the implied objects of last two verbs as clear as possible. What must be clear is that

¹⁷⁰ Though it may be synonymous with παρακάλει.

παρακάλει and ἔλεγχε refer to different groups of people; some translations obscure this (see especially the GNB).

(2:15b) μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς. This phrase, which probably modifies not just ἔλεγχε but all three imperatives in 2:15a (Banker 1994; Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Kelly 1963; Knight 1992), tells the manner in which Titus is to conduct his teaching. There is considerable skewing between form and function here. Although this prepositional phrase occupies a grammatically subordinate place in the sentence, it is semantically the most prominent element since all that went before it represents a restatement of old information; it alone introduces new information (Banker 1994:57, 88). ἐπιταγή is used here of “the right or authority to command” (LN §37.42). The authority “is his by his relationship to Paul” (Fee 1988:197). Mitchell (1992:647, 649) shows that important social conventions governed the reception and treatment of diplomatic envoys in the Greco-Roman world. Crucially, (a) “the one who is sent should be treated according to the status of the one by whom he was sent, not the status he individually holds” and (b) “envoys ... have the significant power and authority to speak for those who sent them in accordance with their instructions.” Thus Titus has complete apostolic authority to carry out his tasks in Crete because he is Paul’s delegated envoy.

(2:15c) μηδείς σου περιφρονεῖτω. This clause restates what was said in 2:15a-b, further emphasising that Titus must teach, exhort, and correct in an authoritative manner that nobody can disregard.

The switch from second to third person imperatives is noteworthy. Banker (1994:89) explains that “when third person imperatives are accompanied formally by a negative subject ..., semantically they function as second person commands to the addressee.” Why, then, did the author switch form? It can only be because “the remark is intended more for the Cretan churches than for Titus himself. Paul desires to impress on them the authority of his delegate” (Kelly 1963:284; cf. Banker 1994; Fee 1988; Hanson 1982; Hiebert 1978; Knight 1992).

Although numerous commentators take περιφρονέω to refer to Titus’ conduct and hence translate *despise* or *look down on* (e.g. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Lea and Griffin 1992; Quinn 1990; Towner 1994), the context strongly suggests that it is not his personal example but his delegated authority to perform his tasks that is at issue; therefore, it should be rendered *disregard* or *ignore* (Banker 1994; Kelly 1963; Knight 1992).

Teach these things; exhort and correct with all authority is an ordinary literal translation of 2:15a-b (cf. NIV, NASB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV). There are two clear objections to this type of rendering: (a) it obscures the fact that *these things* is the semantic object of all

three imperatives; (b) it obscures the fact *with all authority* modifies all three imperatives. However, it is doubtful whether any other rendering is better. No English translation can overcome both these objections and retain a natural style. Although *with all authority* is not marked for prominence in the original text, I decided to mark it as prominent in the translation. This was not absolutely necessary since its prominence in the original had to be inferred from familiarity with the co-text, but it does help to minimise processing effort and to ensure communicative clarity. Since ταῦτα is marked as prominent by its forefronted position, I also italicised *these things*.

For an indirect translation the key to successful communication is making clear that Titus’ authority was derived from his role as an apostolic delegate. The NLT is on the right track with this translation:

You must teach these things and encourage your people to do them, correcting them when necessary. *You have the authority to do this*, so don’t let anyone ignore you or disregard what you say (italics added).

It should have gone a littler further and made the source of Titus’ authority clear. Modern readers will not realise that his authority is derived from his role as Paul’s delegate.

2.7. Titus 3:1-2

2.7.1. Translations

Table 10. Translations of Titus 3:1-2.

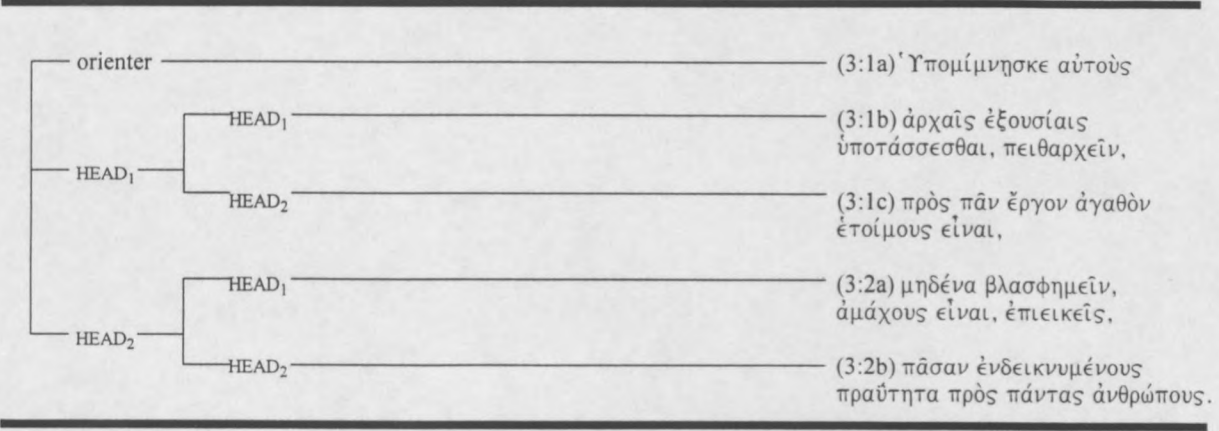
Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
1 Remind them, with reference to rulers and authorities, to be submissive and obedient, and to be prepared for every good work. 2 Remind them to slander no one, to be yielding rather than argumentative, and to show complete courtesy to all men.	1 Keep reminding believers to have a submissive attitude toward government authorities, to do what they require, and to be ready to do whatever is good. 2 Remind them to slander no one, to yield rather than argue, and to treat all people with complete courtesy.

2.7.2. Discourse Unit

This unit consists of a series of exhortations that are all grammatically dependent on the verb ὑπομίμνησκε. On the assumption that 2:15 closes the previous series of exhortations, this unit begins a new group of exhortations. Concerning the closing boundary, see discussion of the discourse unit 3:3-7.

The semantic structure of this paragraph is straightforward: 3:1a introduces a series of instructions that can be grouped topically; those in 3:1 deal with believers' responsibilities to civil authorities, while those in 3:2 deal with the way they relate to outsiders.

Diagram 11. Semantic Structure of Titus 3:1-2



2.7.3. Commentary

(3:1a) Ὑπομίμνησκε αὐτούς. Following a doctrinal interlude (2:11-14) and a summary exhortation (2:15), this statement resumes the paraenesis of 2:1-10, but broadens the scope from isolating specific groups in the church to include all groups, the entire Christian community.

Grammatically ὑπομίμνησκε is the only main verb in the paragraph, but since it introduces indirect discourse, it is not semantically the most prominent part. Consequently, Banker (1994:93) analyses it as the orienter in an orienter-CONTENT relation to 3:1b-2b. As always, the focus is on the content constituent.

The present imperative ὑπομίμνησκε has an iterative force, indicating “that Titus is to remind the people regularly ... and probably was already doing so” (Greenlee 1989:81). Although αὐτούς has no clear antecedent, it can only refer to all believers. I have made both nuances explicit in my indirect translation by rendering *keep reminding believers* (or *your people*, CEV, GNB, NLT, but not *everyone*, REB). Furthermore, unlike some other imperatives in the letter, which English readers will naturally understand to have an iterative force (e.g. *teach* in 2:1 and *exhort* in 2:6), *remind* is most naturally taken to refer to a single act of reminding. Therefore, a strong case can be made for a direct translation also rendering *keep reminding* on the grounds that the iterative idea is grammatically implicit ὑπομίμνησκε.

(3:1b) ἀρχαῖς ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, πειθαρχεῖν. The remainder of the propositions in 3:1b-2b express the content of the reminder mentioned in 3:1a by means of infinitives of indirect discourse.

The interpretation of this statement is significantly influenced by whether or not the variant reading ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις is original. Most commentators prefer the shorter, more difficult reading because it is supported by the best Alexandrian and Western witnesses (Metzger 1994:586) and the variant can be explained as a harmonisation with Eph 3:10, 6:12, and Col 2:15 (Quinn 1990:178-79; cf. Elliott 1968:211-12).

If the shorter reading is original, the author “deliberately framed his sentence concisely” (Metzger 1994:586), forming an awkward (BDF §460.1; Quinn 1990:178) yet rhetorically loaded construction that employs double asyndeton, the first between the two dative nouns and the second between the two infinitives. Knight (1992:332; cf. Banker 1994:94) explains the significance:

It is most likely that the second infinitive, πειθαρχεῖν, is not to be taken by itself and therefore absolutely, but rather that it is to be taken with both of the nouns.

This would mean that the two nouns are governed by both the infinitives.

Thus the second noun expands the first noun and the second infinitive expands the first infinitive. Most commentators still prefer to treat πειθαρχεῖν independently, but on relevance theoretic grounds the minority view is attractive because the awkwardness of the original expression increases processing effort and therefore promises extra contextual effects.

ἀρχαὶ ἐξουσίαι: *rulers (and) authorities*, are often used in references to spiritual rulers and authorities, but here refer to civil authorities. They are in a forefronted position because they introduce a new topic. ὑποτάσσεσθαι, *to submit*, denotes willing acceptance of the authority structure of society (cf. 2:9a), while πειθαρχεῖν, *to obey*, denotes submission to authority or reason by means of obedience (LN §36.12), probably with reference to “doing what is obligatory” (Towner 1994:252), that is, legal duties such as paying taxes. There is a high degree of overlap between these verbs, which seem to denote respectively the passive (attitude) and active (action) aspects of submission (Lea and Griffin 1992; Scott 1936).

A direct translation should make it clear that the two infinitives and the two nouns are linked, and that each infinitive governs each noun. I have attempted to retain the semantic structure of the original by inserting *with reference to* in front of the nouns and inserting *and* between the nouns and between the infinitives. This obscures the fact that ἀρχαῖς and ἐξουσίαις are dative objects of ὑποτάσσεσθαι and πειθαρχεῖν, but in return it enables the translation to retain the forefronted position of the nouns (as markers of a change of topic) and to show that the action indicated by each infinitive applies with reference to each noun. The standard interpretation that treats πειθαρχεῖν separately should be supplied as an alternative, perhaps accompanied by a brief reference to the textual variant. Rendering the infinitives with

stative instead of active verbs communicates the idea of constant submission, though at the expense of altering the form of *submit* (cf. 2:5, 9). Either *be submissive and obedient* or *submit and obey* are acceptable.

The recommended direct translation may fail to communicate effectively if used in an indirect translation. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, we do not refer to civil authorities as *rulers and authorities*. Since these terms may be misleading, a clear allusion such as *the government and the authorities* (REB) or even *government authorities* (Quinn 1990:28) is preferable. Secondly, although not essential, it is helpful to clarify that ὑποτάσσεσθαι refers to believers' attitude toward the government and πειθαρχεῖν to obedience required by law. If the optional second point is bypassed, one might render *remind them, with reference to the government and the authorities, to be submissive and obedient*.¹⁷¹ By making some changes in form and explicating a few implicatures (i.e. ὑποτάσσεσθαι = attitude; πειθαρχεῖν = required obedience), my chosen rendering reduces processing cost and improves the likelihood of readers understanding the content of the text. Admittedly, however, it sacrifices the rhetorical force of the direct translation's symmetry.

(3:1c) πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοίμους εἶναι. Although Fee (1988) regards this proposition as a generic transition introducing the general instructions concerning treating other human beings (3:2), all other commentators regard it as concluding the exhortations concerning duties to civil authorities, perhaps specifically building on πειθαρχεῖν so as to clarify that Christians should go beyond mere obedience to laws and engage in voluntary, "active, positive involvement in society" (Lea and Griffin 1992:318). Functionally, then, it is a climactic summary of believers' responsibility to society, a responsibility which goes beyond passive obedience to making a helpful contribution. As for translation, the straightforward *to be ready/prepared for every good work* is clear enough for direct or indirect translation.

(3:2a) μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, ἀμάχους εἶναι, ἐπιεικεῖς. The comments about contributing to the good of society (3:1c) serve as a natural transition to exhortations concerning how believers should treat all people, with special reference to outsiders. Three specifics are stated. μηδένα βλασφημεῖν: *to slander no one* (cf. 2:5). ἀμάχους εἶναι: *not to be contentious*; the adjective describes someone who is "peaceful" in the sense of being

¹⁷¹ This would be adequate as an indirect translation because an astute reader should be able to infer that *submissive* refers to an attitude and *obedient* to doing what the government requires.

“disinclined to fight” (LSJ s.v. 2). ἐπεικεῖς: *yielding, gentle, kind* (BAGD); it describes someone who tends to avoid conflict by yielding in a gentle, kind, gracious manner.

Knight (1992:334) argues that latter two terms, ἀμάχους and ἐπεικεῖς, are connected and form two halves of one instruction. They are similar in meaning, depend on a single εἶναι, and are similarly combined in 1 Tim 3:3 (cf. Banker 1994:95). The composite picture is of a peaceable person who would rather yield than argue. Quinn (1990) prefers to group the two negatives, μηδένα βλασφημεῖν and ἀμάχους εἶναι, and combine ἐπεικεῖς with 3:2c, but this is less likely since 3:2b seems to function as a general summary exhortation incorporating all three preceding instructions; functionally it parallels 3:1c which concludes the instructions concerning civil authorities.

Any translation should clarify the fact that ἀμάχους and ἐπεικεῖς form a pair (NIV, GNB). This is superior to a straightforward list of instructions (NASB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV). A direct translation should supply an alternate translation that illustrates the alternate way of grouping the instructions (CEV, NLT, REB).

(3:2b) πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνυμένους πραῦτητα πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Despite the change in form from infinitival clauses to a participial clause, this is simply another instruction. The author often concludes lists of instructions (infinitives) with a participial clause (cf. 1:9, 2:5, 10). The expanded form (as compared with the three instructions in 3:2a) and the double use of *all* suggest that this functions as a climactic and generic exhortation summarising and concluding the preceding instructions (Lea and Griffin 1992:319).

πραΰτης is extremely difficult to translate because no gloss is adequate; many glosses have been suggested—and almost every translation uses a different one.¹⁷² According to Hauck and Schultz (1985) the basic meaning is “mild and gentle friendliness,” accompanied by “compensating strength.” It is the opposite of harshness or roughness (LN §88.59), indicating “a mild, soothing quality ... expected in friends, benevolent rulers, tame animals, and mild medications” (Richards 1985:303). In essence, then, it describes a gentle yet firm manner of dealing with other people that is civilised, calm, and humble. It includes nuances from each of the three terms that precede it. The double use of πᾶς is striking; πᾶσαν is forefronted for emphasis. The point is that believers should show complete, not partial, courtesy toward all people (Hendriksen 1957:387; Knight 1992:334).

¹⁷² BAGD gives *gentleness, humility, courtesy, considerateness, meekness*; Quinn (1990) adds *humane, civilized, tamed*; LN (§88.59) also includes *mildness*.

For the sake of naturalness, it is preferable to translate this clause with an English infinitive conjoined with *and* to the previous instructions. Whichever gloss is preferred for $\pi\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, translation should convey the emphasis on $\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$. One option is to render both occurrences of $\pi\hat{\alpha}\varsigma$ with *all* and italicise the first for emphasis, thereby capturing a little of the alliteration in the original text. The other is to use a stronger adjective such as *complete* or *absolute* for $\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$.

2.8. Titus 3:3-7

2.8.1. Translations

Table 11. Translations of Titus 3:3-7

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
<p>3 For <i>we</i> too were once foolish and disobedient, deceived and enslaved by all kinds of lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, being hated and hating one another.</p> <p>4 But when the kindness and the love for mankind of God our Saviour appeared, 5 he saved us, <i>not</i> because of righteous works which we ourselves had done <i>but</i> because of his own mercy, through the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. 6 He poured out the Holy Spirit upon us in abundance through Jesus Christ our Saviour 7 so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs with the hope of eternal life.</p>	<p>3 For <i>we</i> also used to be foolish, disobedient to God, deceived, enslaved by all kinds of lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hated by others and hating one another. 4 But when God <i>our Saviour</i> manifested his kindness and love for mankind by sending Jesus Christ, 5 he saved us, not because of righteous works which we ourselves had done but because of his own mercy, through the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. 6 He poured out the Holy Spirit upon us in abundance through Jesus Christ our Saviour 7 so that, having been pardoned by his grace, we might become heirs with the confident expectation of eternal life.</p>

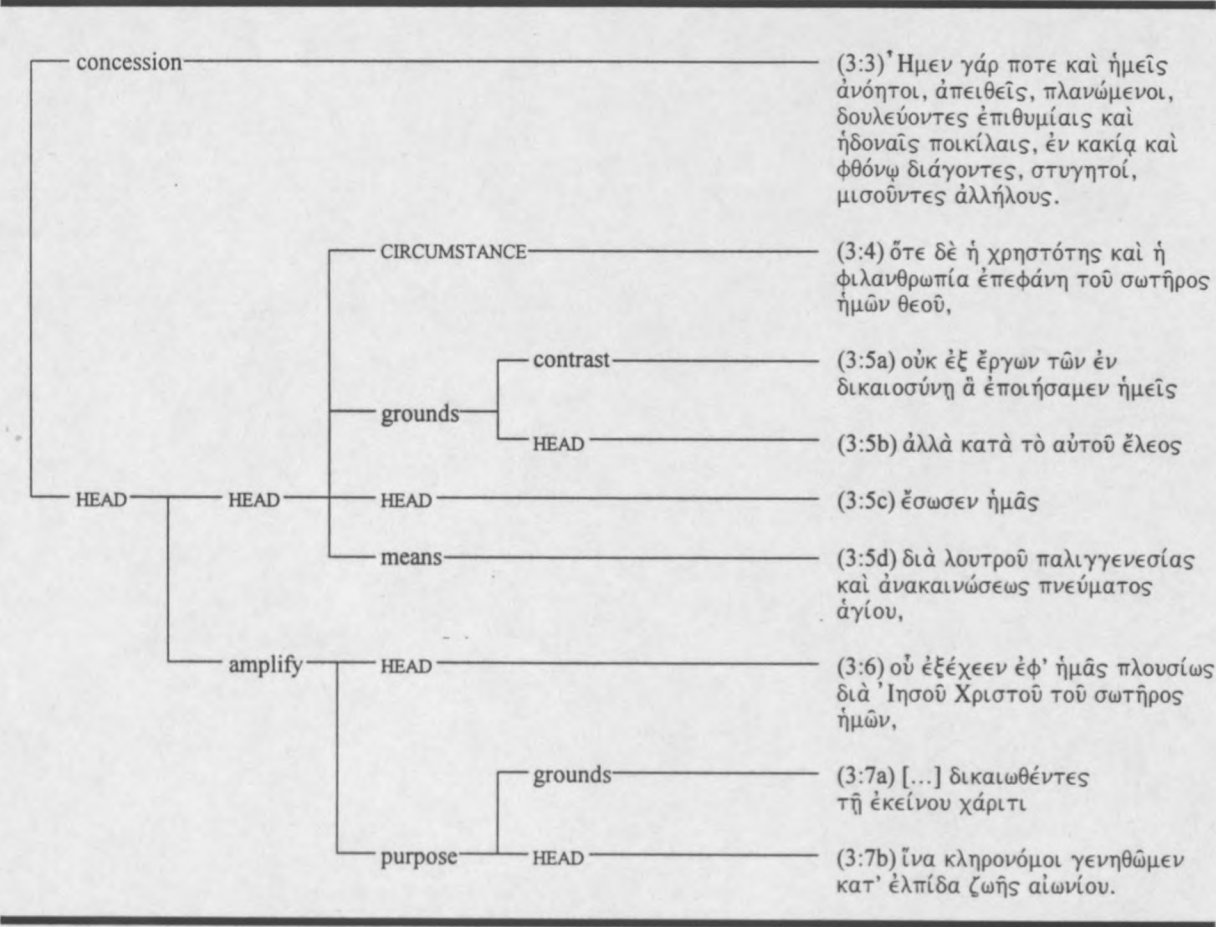
2.8.2. Discourse Unit

Most translations do not begin a new paragraph in 3:3, preferring to treat 3:1-7 as a unit. However, the structure of the paraenesis in 3:1-7 is identical to that of 2:1-14, that is, a series of exhortations followed by a theological discourse, with $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ serving as a marker of grounds on the paragraph level. Failure to begin a new paragraph in 3:3 obscures the parallelism between the letter’s two major sections of paraenesis. The paragraph consists of two major

constituents, 3:3 and 3:4-7, joined together by the temporal progression from ποτε (3:3) to ὅτε δέ (3:4). The latter constituent coheres around its main verb ἔσωσεν, being an exposition of the doctrine of salvation. The closing boundary is difficult to pinpoint. A case can be made for placing it after 3:7, after πιστὸς ὁ λόγος in 3:8, or at the end of 3:8. See the discussion of the discourse unit 3:8-11 for details of each view.

The paragraph consists of two sentences, 3:3 and 3:4-7, which stand in a concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION relationship. Although 3:4-7 is one sentence, it divides logically into two units, 3:4-5 and 3:6-7. The second of these seems to further develop the thought begun in the first, hence the relationship between them is labelled as HEAD-amplification. The only other point of interest concerns the relationship between 3:4 and 3:5c. Grammatically, 3:4 is a subordinate temporal clause describing the event that made action of 3:5c possible. However, its semantic prominence is equal to that of the main clause. The author is arguing that believers should treat outsiders courteously because God treated them well before they were saved, even though they did not deserve it. The relationship between 3:1-2 and 3:4-7 adds prominence to the reference to God's kindness and love for mankind.

Diagram 12. Semantic Structure of Titus 3:3-7



2.8.3. Commentary

(3:3)[†] Ἡμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοί, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους. Once again (cf. 1:10 and 2:11) γάρ functions as a marker of confirmation (Heckert 1996; Levinsohn 2000) on the paragraph level, indicating that 3:3-7 confirms the instructions in 3:1-2. The specific semantic relation between them is HEAD-grounds (Banker 1994:98; cf. Fee 1988; Kelly 1963; Lock 1924). Thus the whole paragraph confirms that believers must submit to authorities (3:1) and treat outsiders with courtesy (3:2).

In terms of the argument of the paragraph, 3:3 relates to the main clause in 3:5c in a concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION relationship. The point is that although we were sinful, God treated us well, culminating our salvation. Therefore, we should treat unbelievers well (confirmation of 3:1-2). The formulaic sounding ποτε ... ὅτε δέ, reminiscent of ποτε ... νῦν δέ, implies a close relationship between 3:3 and 3:4, but δέ is best taken as indicating a contrast between 3:3 and 3:4-7, with 3:4 providing the circumstance that makes it possible for God to save (3:5c). Consequently, my semantic structure display does not indicate a direct connection between 3:3 and 3:4.

Now let us quickly run through the list of vices, which pose few difficulties. ἀνόητοι: *foolish*. ἀπειθεῖς: *disobedient*, primarily to the God's law. πλανώμενοι: *deceived* (i.e. *misguided, erring*). δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις: *enslaved by various lusts and pleasures*, in the sense of being controlled or mastered by sinful desires. ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες: *living in malice and envy*; διάγω [βίον] is an standard idiom for how one spends one's life (BAGD), hence *living, behaving, conducting oneself*; in a list of vices, κακία denotes malice or ill-will (BAGD s.v. 1.b). στυγητοί: *hated, hateful*; it denotes being an object of hatred, with the probable connotation that the hatred is caused by the detestable character of the one being hated. μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους: *hating one another*.

As with other lists of virtues or vices in this letter, this list is carefully constructed. Eight vices are grouped into four pairs. First of all, ἀνόητοι and ἀπειθεῖς form a semantic pair expressing the thematic idea that if someone is sensible, he/she will live a self-controlled life (cf. comments about σωφρων in 1:8); the semantic link between them is strengthened by the rhetorical device of alliteration. The two participles, πλανώμενοι and δουλεύοντες, form a second pair. They repeat the idea implied by the first pair—wrong thinking (*being deceived*) leads to wrong living (*being enslaved*). The forefronted position of the prepositional phrase ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ indicates a topical change, introducing a third pair. Finally, the last two vices, στυγητοί and μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους, lie within the same semantic domain—hatred.

There is little difference between direct and indirect translation here. Under no circumstances may γάρ be left untranslated as in the CEV, NIV, NLT, and REB. It is a crucial communicative clue for identifying the structure of the letter and tracing its argument. *We* should be marked for prominence, but *we ourselves* is too strong; best is to italicise *we*. The biggest question is whether or not to make the rhetorical structure of the list of virtues explicit by grouping them into pairs. Since linguistic clues to the structure of the list are embedded within it—alliteration of the first pair, forefronting of the prepositional phrase in the third pair—making its structure clear is preferable to simply listing the vices. The simplest way to do this in English is to conjoin the pairs.

(3:4) ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ. The postpositive δέ marks some sort of contrast with 3:3. Since 3:4-7 is traditional material—the content of the trustworthy saying (3:8a)—which begins with a series of subordinate clauses and phrases, δέ logically contrasts ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς (3:5c) with 3:3. δέ marks the relationship between 3:3 and 3:5c as one of concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION. The logical connection is that although we were sinful God was kind to us and saved us. Therefore, we should be kind to outsiders so that they too will be saved.

How, then, does 3:4 fit into the argument? The temporal conjunction ὅτε grammatically subordinates it to ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς (3:5a). On the surface it appears to be a temporal clause placing the action of the main verb in temporal perspective as following the definite past event indicated by the ὅτε clause.¹⁷³ However, there is some skewing between form and function. The “when x happened, then y happened” form is often used to express cause-effect relations. The temporal implications of ὅτε are of secondary importance here; the point is that salvation (3:5c) is based on God’s kindness historically manifest in the appearing of Christ. The manifestation of God’s kindness provided the circumstance that made salvation possible, hence the relation between 3:4 and 3:5c is one of CIRCUMSTANCE-HEAD.

This verse is semantically and structurally parallel to 2:11a. Once again the epiphany language refers to the first coming of Christ (all commentators) which embodied and manifested God’s kindness and love for mankind. χρηστότης: *goodness, kindness, generosity* (BAGD s.v. 2). According to Da Silva (1984:135), it describes “a gracious disposition in character and attitudes. It encompasses tenderness, compassion, and sweetness.” It depicts God’s benevolent nature, being almost synonymous with χάρις (2:11a)

¹⁷³ ὅτε with the aorist indicative indicates a definite past event prior to the event indicated by the main verb.

and ἔλεος (3:5b). φιланθρωπία: *love for mankind, affection for people* (LN §25.36). In spite of the repetition of the article, the singular verb suggests a very close relationship (hendiadys) between the two terms (Hendriksen 1957; Lenski 1946; Lock 1924; Quinn 1990). Thus God's inherent kindness (χρηστότης), especially his love for mankind (φιλανθρωπία), made salvation possible. For ἐπεφάνη, see 2:11a. For τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, see 1:3c.

Regarding translation, *but* neatly captures the force of δέ. A direct translation should stick to *when* for ὅτε since English also expresses cause-effect relations with “when ... then” constructions. The popular translation *the kindness and love* (GNB, NIV, NLT) ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία does not do justice to φιλανθρωπία as a specific expression of χρηστότης. In fact, *kindness* is often regarded as a specific expression of *love*, thus inverting the semantic relationship between χρηστότης and φιλανθρωπία. The formally equivalent *love for mankind* is required for φιλανθρωπία. Furthermore, an indirect translation needs to retain the parallelism with 2:11a, which requires rendering ἐπεφάνη as *manifested* and τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ as a subjective genitive.

(3:5a) οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς. This is the first of two prepositional phrases (the relative clause is subordinate to ἔργων) stating the reason (basis or grounds) that God saved us (3:5c). They state this in negative and positive terms respectively, with the positive form being semantically more prominent.

ἐξ ἔργων, used thirteen times in Paul, always meaning *by works* or *based on works*, always to deny that salvation is based on human works, which are most often conceived of as adherence to the OT law. The article τῶν nominalises the prepositional phrase ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ as an attributive modifier of ἔργων. Wallace (1996:209) describes this use of the article as “the ability to *conceptualize*,” that is, “to turn just about any part of speech into a noun and, therefore, a concept.” Thus it defines ἔργων as those things which fall within the sphere of what is righteous. δικαιοσύνη is here used to denote “doing what God requires, doing what is right” (LN §88.13). Since for Paul ἐξ ἔργων was practically synonymous with ἐξ ἔργων νόμου (Rom 3:20, Gal 2:16, 3:2, 5, 10), this qualifier is added to broaden the scope of the works to include all good works rather than just observance of the Mosaic law (Fee 1988; Greenlee 1989; Kelly 1963; Scott 1936).¹⁷⁴ ἔργων is further qualified by the relative clause ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, which is marked as emphatic (a) by the personal pronoun ἡμεῖς and (b)

¹⁷⁴ Knight (1992:340) argues that the phrase could refer to or at least include reference to works done while in the sphere or righteousness. However, if this were the case the following clause would surely have been ἃ ποιοῦμεν ἡμεῖς. Neither the time frame nor the spiritual condition of the person when the good works are done are in focus here.

by the fact that it is in any event implied by ἐξ ἔργων. It stresses “our personal involvement: works which we personally have done” (Greenlee 1989:90; cf. Banker 1994; Knight 1992).

(3:5b) ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος. This is the positive restatement of 3:5a stating the reason that God saved us (3:5c); the common οὐκ ... ἀλλά construction marks the positive component as more prominent. Most grammarians would classify κατὰ as a marker of standard, but semantically *according to your mercy* means *because of your mercy* (cf. Quinn 1990:193 for further references to κατὰ τὸ ἔλεος in the same sense). Why, then, did the author not use διὰ with the accusative? Quinn (1990:193) shows that slight variations of the phrase κατὰ τὸ ἔλεος were used with reference to God about a dozen times in the LXX. When used with reference to God, the idea of standard implies a high standard. Thus, *according to [the standard of] his mercy* implies that God set a high standard of mercy. In colloquial English the idea could be paraphrased *because he is so merciful*; this paraphrase fits the context well since the focus is on God’s great example of treating sinners kindly. αὐτοῦ is slightly forefronted (Banker 1994:100) to heighten the contrast between *our works* and *his mercy*. Furthermore, both 3:5a-b are marked prominent by their placement before the main verb ἔσωσεν. The focus of the 3:4-5c is not on the fact that God saves but on the fact that he treats undeserving sinners kindly.

(3:5c) ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς. This is the only main verb in the sentence and also the main proposition of the paragraph. Consequently, it is also the main reason that Christians should exhibit the behaviour called for in 3:1-2.

Now let us consider the translation of 3:5a-c. English grammar requires that *he saved us* come first. English does not forefront prepositional phrases for emphasis the way Greek does; the NKJV unnecessarily obscures the meaning by following the Greek word order. English can, however, add prominence to 3:5a and 3:5b by italicising *not* (οὐκ) and *but* (ἀλλά). The translation of ἐξ ... κατὰ is interesting. For ἐξ, *on the basis of*, *because of*, or even *by* will communicate effectively. The problem comes when κατὰ is considered. The popular *not because of ... but because of* (CEV, GNB, NIV, NLT) communicates the main thrust of 3:5a-b clearly, but does not do full justice to the unusual use of κατὰ to express grounds, but then neither does the main alternative *but according to* (NASB, NKJV, NRSV). For a direct translation, either of these accompanied by a note will do. Although *but because he is so merciful* captures the meaning well, it is too colloquial to be attractive. Since there is no contextual implicature that needs to be explicated, an indirect translation can use the same rendering as a direct translation.

τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ cannot be translated literally. The simplest solution is to reduce it to an attributive adjective, hence *righteous works* (similarly, CEV, GNB, NIV, NLT, REB). This adequately distinguishes it from *the works of the law* in Romans and Galatians. It also communicates the point more clearly than more literal renderings like *works of righteousness* (NET, NKJV, NRSV) or the horrendously worded *deeds done by us in righteousness* (RSV; cf. NASB); if translations are evaluated by communicative success, the last two are complete failures. Finally, the contrasting stress on *his* mercy and *our* works can be captured either by italicising *his* and *we* or by rendering the emphatic ἡμεῖς and αὐτοῦ as *we ourselves* and *his own*.

(3:5d) διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. Here we have another prepositional phrase modifying ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, this time expressing the means by which *he saved us*, or to be more specific, the means by which Christ's saving work is made effective in believers' lives.

The relationship between the four constituents of the phrase is difficult to pinpoint.¹⁷⁵ One possibility is that καί separates two noun phrases, λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας and ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. If καί is copulative, two distinct experiences are in view: (a) *washing of rebirth* and (b) *renewal by the Holy Spirit*. A spiritual cleansing is affected at conversion and further renewal comes with the receipt of the gift of the Holy Spirit. If καί is epexegetical, the two noun phrases describe a single experience with the second clarifying the meaning of the first. Thus the sense is that God saved us *through the washing of rebirth (= baptism), that is, the renewal of the Holy Spirit*. Another possibility is that παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως go together, being governed by λουτροῦ and governing πνεύματος ἁγίου. A single *washing*, whether construed as a spiritual cleansing (conversion) or as water baptism,¹⁷⁶ effects *rebirth and renewal*, seen as virtually complete synonyms. The entire experience is effected through the agency of *the Holy Spirit*.¹⁷⁷

Fortunately, this time English grammar allows translators to remain non-committal. A straightforward translation such as *by the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit*

¹⁷⁵ The four constituents are (a) λουτροῦ: *washing*; (b) παλιγγενεσίας: *regeneration*; (c) ἀνακαινώσεως: *renewal*; (d) πνεύματος ἁγίου: *Holy Spirit*.

¹⁷⁶ Those who take λουτρόν as a reference to baptism include Houlden (1978), Kelly (1963), Lock (1924), Scott (1936). On the other hand, Banker (1987), Fee (1988), Guthrie (1957), Hendriksen (1957), and Lenski (1946) believe it refers to spiritual cleansing.

¹⁷⁷ The first interpretation is supported by Alford (1856), Guthrie (1957), Hiebert (1978), Holman (1996), and White (n.d.). Banker (1987), Fee (1988), Hendriksen (1957), Hanson (1982), Hendriksen (1957), Kelly (1963), Lea and Griffin (1992), and Towner (1994) prefer the second interpretation.

leaves all the same interpretive possibilities open as the original Greek text. Since contextual considerations do not affect the interpretation, direct and indirect translation will not differ. Therefore, I shall not attempt to evaluate the alternatives.

παλιγγενεσία: *rebirth, regeneration* (BAGD). The word is compounded from πάλιν (*again*) and γένεσις (*beginning*); it refers to the experience of being born again (= γεννάω ἄνωθεν; LN §41.53) in which a person makes a new beginning, a complete change of lifestyle (LN §41.53). ἀνακαίνωσις: *renewal*. LN (§58.72) define it as causing “something to become new and different, with the implication of becoming superior - ‘to make new, renewal.’”

(3:6) οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. Grammatically this clause modifies πνεύματος ἁγίου; the case of the relative pronoun οὗ is attracted to that of its antecedent. Semantically, Banker (1994:96-97, 102-103) regards it as a new sentence¹⁷⁸ amplifying of 3:4-5. This is a common use of a relative clause, as Boyer’s (1988:233-234) comments suggest:

The statement made by the relative clause might stand alone as an independent sentence, but the speaker chooses to “relate” it subordinately to some noun or other substantival expression in the main clause by using a special relative word for that purpose.

A similar situation occurred in 2:11-14 where the relative clause in 2:14 served as a restatement of 2:11-13, but on that occasion the relationship was closer to HEAD-equivalence since the relative clause was almost a complete restatement of what preceded. Here the relative clause functions as an amplification of themes already introduced, serving as “a further delineation of the work of God that accomplished salvation” (Knight 1992:345).¹⁷⁹

ἐκχέω describes pouring out liquids. By extension its figurative meaning is “to give in abundance, to bestow generously” (LN §59.50), with the added connotation that what is given is poured out from above, hence, in metaphorical uses, from God (BAGD s.v. 2). It was used to describe the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:17-18, and 33). The allusion to the initial bestowal of the Holy Spirit upon the church as a whole is surely present (Lock 1924), but so too is the assumption that the same gift is poured out upon all believers (inclusive ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς) at conversion (Banker 1994; Guthrie 1957; Kelly 1963).

¹⁷⁸ This is viewing it from the perspective of English syntax. In places where English will develop a discourse by means of a new sentence, Greek would often do so by means of a relative clause.

¹⁷⁹ The alternative is to treat 3:6 as amplifying the means of salvation described in 3:5d and 3:7 as relating back to 3:5c, describing the purpose for which God saved us.

πλουσίως, *richly, abundantly*, refers to the generosity with which God gives the Holy Spirit, thereby strengthening the implication of abundance already present in ἐκχέω.

In the following prepositional phrase, διὰ with the genitive expresses “the personal agent through whom God has acted” (Knight 1992:345) to pour out the Spirit. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν depicts Christ acting in his capacity as Saviour. To those familiar with the early church’s preaching, the reference to Christ as σωτῆρος would convey several assumptions. He became *our Saviour* by means of his life, death, and resurrection (atoning work). When he had successfully completed his atoning work, he became the Giver of the Holy Spirit, who applies Christ’s saving work in the life of every believer (3:5d). Thus Christ’s present role as Saviour presupposes his past saving work; both allusions are present here, though the reference to his present work is primarily in focus.

Although 3:4-7 is punctuated as one long, complex sentence in the Greek text, English discourse tends to use shorter, simpler sentences. At some point a translation should break the Greek sentence into two sentences (NASB, NKJV, RSV do not). One option is to punctuate after 3:5c and repeat the main clause *he saved us* (NIV); this separates the discussion of the grounds (3:4-5b) from the means of salvation (3:5d-6) and accentuates the main clause (3:5c) by repeating it. The other is to punctuate after 3:5d and repeat the antecedent of οὗ, *the Holy Spirit* (GNB, NRSV). This is a more natural division for two reasons. Firstly, the text does not divide neatly into separate grounds and means sections. Allusions to grounds are not limited to 3:4-5b, but are also implicit in 3:6 and explicit in 3:7a. Furthermore, this division breaks the symmetry of the sentence by leaving the concluding ἵνα clause detached. Secondly, the structure of Greek grammar suggests authors often begin a “new sentence” with a relative clause. Although it may seem strange to divide the two means propositions (3:5d and 3:6), the semantic structure of the sentence calls for it. Fortunately, the fact that 3:6 elaborates on the means proposition in 3:5d remains quite clear.

As for the details, two small observations. Firstly, the translation of πλουσίως should focus more on the magnitude of the gift than the manner of the giver. The focus is not on the fact that God was generous to give the Spirit but that he gave a generous measure of the Spirit (NET). In this respect, *generously* (GNB, NIV, NLT) can be misleading, while *richly* (NASB, NRSV, RSV) does not collocate well with *poured out*. *Abundantly* (NKJV) or even better *in abundance* seems clearest. Secondly, any attempt to turn *our Saviour* into a verb phrase would lose the richness of the original noun phrase.

(3:7a) [ἵνα] δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι. The ἵνα clause that constitutes 3:7 almost certainly relates to ἐξέχεεν rather than ἔσωσεν (see Banker 1994:102-103 for

reasons). The structure of 3:7—a *ἵνα* clause with an aorist participial clause embedded between *ἵνα* and the main verb—is reminiscent of 2:12b-c. Grammatically, the participle *δικαιωθέντες* is subordinate to *γεννηθῶμεν*. If *δικαιωθέντες* is an attendant circumstance participle that is semantically co-ordinate to *γεννηθῶμεν* (Hanson 1982; Hiebert 1978; cf. GNB, NRSV), then *δικαιόω* must mean *make upright* (Quinn 1990; cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972) rather than *justify* because justification can scarcely be conceived of as the purpose or result of the outpouring of the Spirit; if anything, the inverse is true. More likely, therefore, *δικαιωθέντες* serves as the grounds of *γεννηθῶμεν* (Banker 1994:106). On the basis of our justification we become heirs with the hope of eternal life.

The aorist participle *δικαιωθέντες* denotes an event prior to that of the main verb. Although experientially regeneration (3:5d-6), justification (3:7a), and becoming heirs (3:7b) are simultaneous events that occur at the time of conversion, justification logically precedes becoming heirs. Justification is a judicial metaphor that, when applied to salvation in Christ, implies two nuances: (a) the act of justification—acquitting someone, that is, declaring him/her righteous on the basis of Christ's atoning work, and (b) the result of justification—restoration to right standing before God, that is, to right relationship with God. Thus the two nuances stand in an action-RESULT relationship to one another, with the action being legal and the result relational. *τῇ χάριτι* is a dative of cause (Banker 1994; Hiebert 1978; Knight 1992); *his grace* is the cause or basis of justification. Although Fee (1988:206) regards Christ as the antecedent of *ἐκείνου*, the more remote antecedent, God, is more likely (Knight 1992; Lea and Griffin; Quinn 1990). Throughout the letter salvation is viewed as having its source in God's grace. The present expression parallels *τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος* in 3:5b in form and meaning (cf. *ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ* in 2:11a).

A direct translation will simply retain the justification metaphor and supply a note explaining it. However, most modern readers do not accurately interpret justification terminology. Therefore, several functionally equivalent translations resort to expanded, propositional renderings such as *he declared us not guilty* (NLT; cf. CEV, GNB). A simpler solution, however, is to render *δικαιωθέντες* as *pardoned*. This retains the legal imagery and most of the implicatures.

(3:7b) *ἵνα ... κληρονόμοι γεννηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου*. This proposition is grammatically subordinate to *ἐξέχεεν* (3:6), supplying the purpose of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (3:6) and, therefore, the purpose of the Holy Spirit's cleansing work (3:5d). However, using Wallace's (1996:469-477) categories for classifying *ἵνα* clauses, one might call it a purpose-result clause. The clause expresses God's intended goal for pouring out the

Spirit, namely, to make us heirs. The context makes clear that this goal is guaranteed to be accomplished.

γεννηθῶμεν is an ingressive aorist indicating entrance into the state of being heirs. Believers become heirs the moment God pours out the Holy Spirit on them. κληρονόμοι: *heirs*. Semantically, it is attractive to take κατὰ ἐλπίδα independently, thus leaving ζωῆς αἰωνίου directly dependent on κληρονόμοι; interpretation could be expressed as *heirs of eternal life, in accordance with hope*. However, judging from 1:2a, it appears that ἐλπίς ζωῆς αἰωνίου “constitutes a formulaic entity in itself” (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972:150), hence *heirs according to the hope of eternal life*. In the former case, being heirs is the object of believers’ hope, whereas in the latter eternal life is the object of their hope.¹⁸⁰ Hoping for eternal life is more natural than hoping to become heirs.

Formally equivalent translations render *heirs according to the hope of eternal life* (NASB, NKJV, NRSV; cf. RSV), but *heirs, according to*, and *hope* collocate poorly. As a result, this rendering does not communicate any meaning clearly. Something like *heirs having the hope of eternal life* (NIV) or *heirs with the hope of eternal life* (cf. NET) are much clearer. Whereas in 1:2a the co-text made clear that *the hope of eternal life* did not imply uncertainty, here there are no obvious clues to that effect. Therefore, there is a case for an indirect translation to render ἐλπίς as *confident expectation* (NET), thereby minimising the chance of readers misinterpreting it.

2.9. Titus 3:8-11

2.9.1. Translations

Table 12. Translations of Titus 3:8-11

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
8 This saying is trustworthy, and I want you to insist on these things so that those who have come to believe in God will be intent on devoting themselves to good works. These things are helpful and profitable for men. 9 But avoid foolish disputes and genealogies	8 This traditional saying is trustworthy. These are the kinds of things I want you to emphasise so that those who have put their trust in God will be intent on devoting themselves to good works. These things are helpful and profitable for everyone. 9 But

¹⁸⁰ The former sense is favoured by Alford (1856), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Guthrie (1957), Hanson (1982), Hiebert (1978), Lea and Griffin (1992), Quinn (1990), Towner (1994), and White (n.d.), the latter sense by Fee (1988), Hendriksen (1957), Kelly (1963), Scott (1936).

and quarrels and fights about the law, for they are unprofitable and unhelpful. 10 Reject a divisive man after two warnings, 11 because you know that such a man has become corrupt and is sinning; he is self-condemned.	from now on avoid foolish disputes about spiritual pedigrees and quarrels and fights about the law, for they are unprofitable and unhelpful. 10 Reject divisive people after two warnings 11 because you can be sure that such people have turned away from the truth and what they are doing is sinful; they are condemned as a result of what they themselves have done.
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2.9.2. Discourse Unit

A brief survey of commentaries and translations reveals that the boundaries between this and the previous paragraph are far from clear. A case can be made for at least four alternatives:

1. 3:3-7 and 3:8-11 are separate paragraphs: Guthrie (1957), White (n.d.), NA27, NET, TR, UBS4.
2. 3:3-8a and 3:8b-11 are separate paragraphs: Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), (Fee 1984), Quinn (1990), Scott (1936), CEV, GNB, NRSV, REB, RSV.
3. 3:3-7, 3:8, and 3:9-11 as separate paragraphs: Banker (1994), Hanson (1982), WH
4. 3:3-8 and 3:9-11 are separate paragraphs: Hendriksen (1957), Hiebert (1978), Knight (1992), Lock (1924), Phillips (1972), ASV, KJV, NIV, NKJV, NLT, MT.

These can be divided into two main options by treating #1 and #2 together¹⁸¹ and #4 as the main options, with #3 representing a compromise.

The fairly even distribution of opinion shows that either division is defensible. I have opted to follow NA27 (#1) for a number of reasons. Firstly, the asyndetic faithful saying implies a break.¹⁸² Secondly, the switch from the singular faithful saying to the plural *concerning these things* seems to represent a generalisation that summarises the entire

¹⁸¹ They reflect essentially the same interpretation, the only difference being that #2 is reluctant to separate the faithful saying from the content to which it refers. In terms of how they analyse the pericope as a whole, however, the two are essentially the same.

¹⁸² Each of the other faithful sayings (1 Tim 1:15, 3:1, 4:9, and 2 Tim 2:11) seems to introduce a new paragraph (or sub-paragraph), though admittedly they also all introduce the faithful saying itself. However, this does favour #1 as against #2 since it seems most unusual to end a paragraph with the asyndetic πιστὸς ὁ λόγος and then begin the next with καὶ περὶ τούτων.

paraenesis of 3:1-3:7. Furthermore, the author's known fondness for chiastic arrangement¹⁸³ suggests that 3:8-11 is a chiastic summary of the two main points of the letter—3:8 summarises 2:1-3:7 while 3:9-11 summarises 1:10-16. Finally, there are several indications of coherence, primarily a switch of participants with Titus coming back into focus, a return from doctrine to exhortation, and consistent contrast between believers, good works, and profitableness on the one hand (3:8) and heretics, vain disputes, and unprofitableness on the other.¹⁸⁴

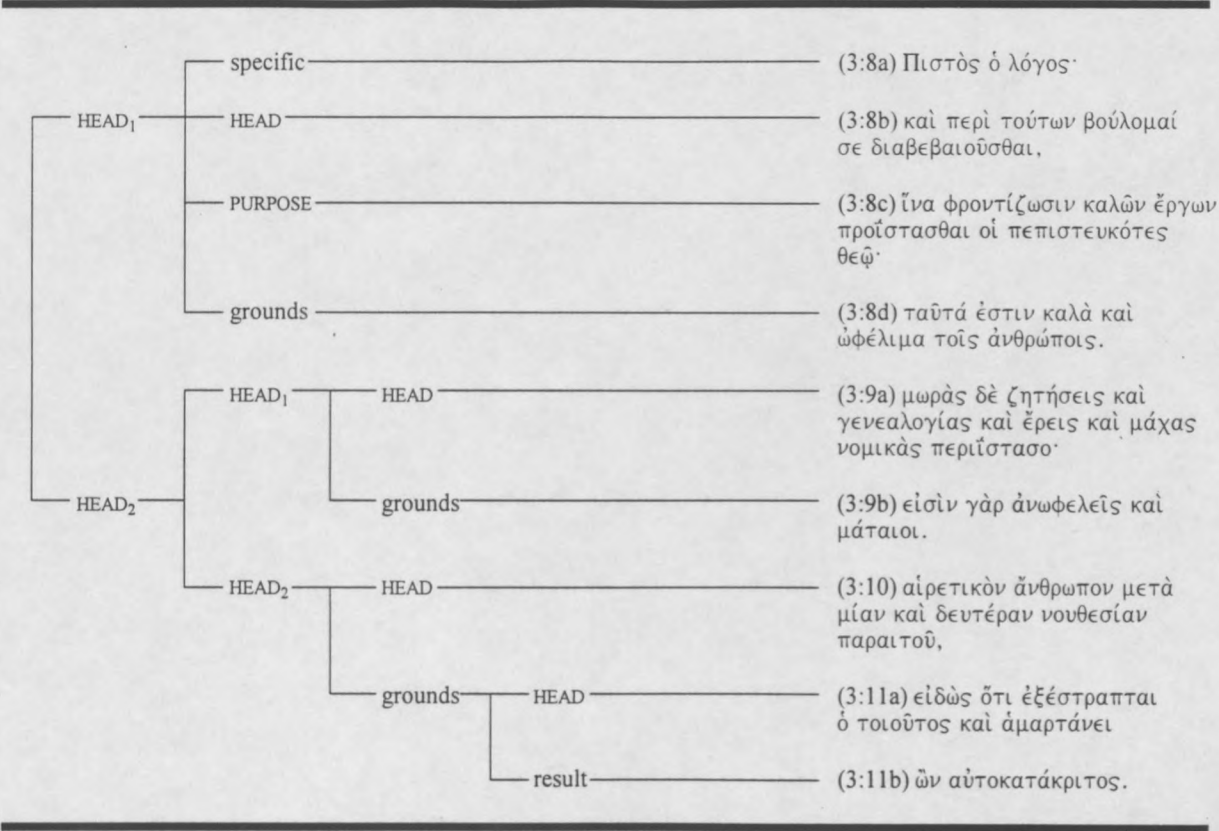
To a large extent, the way this passage is diagrammed depends on where one places its opening boundary. If one regards 3:8-11 or 3:8b-11 as the extent of the unit (as my analysis does), then 3:8 and 3:9-11 represent two contrasting main constituents. The relations within 3:8 are not clearcut. Banker (1994:108) regards 3:8b as the head proposition, labelling the relationship between 3:8a and 3:8b as grounds-HEAD (i.e. 3:8b is an inference drawn from 3:8a). This interpretation is perfectly reasonable. My analysis treats 3:8b as a generalisation that is deduced from 3:8a; this relation could be understood as grounds-INFERENCE or specific-GENERIC. The purpose statement in 3:8c is capitalised to mark it as semantically prominent.

The internal semantic relations in 3:9-11 are quite clear. The main decision is whether to label 3:9 and 3:10-11 as co-ordinate heads (so Banker 1994:110) or treat 3:10-11 as an amplification of 3:9. They can be understood as independent instructions to Titus, or the second can be taken as an elaboration of the first instruction and labelled either HEAD-AMPLIFICATION or STEP-GOAL. Whichever approach is chosen, both labels must be capitalised to show that they are of equal semantic prominence.

¹⁸³ At a structural level, there were two other cases of chiastic arrangement. The first was double instruction for Titus to set in order what remains to be done and to appoint elders in every city (1:5c-d); these instructions were developed in reverse order in 1:6-9 and 1:10-3:7. The other arose from a reference to the two duties of elders, namely, instruction and correction (1:9b-c); these themes were developed in reverse order in 1:10-16 and 2:1-3:7. Banker (1994:16) remarks that "[t]he chiastic structures of the main part of the body and the interweaving of the body's themes which is accomplished by this type of structure are the best evidence of the coherence of the epistle."

¹⁸⁴ A full discussion of the considerations involved in determining the boundaries of these paragraphs is found in Banker 1994:90-92.

Diagram 13. Semantic Structure of Titus 3:8-11



2.9.3. Commentary

(3:8a) Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. This statement is used five times in the Pastoral Epistles as a “citation-emphasis” formula (Knight 1992:347). Each occurrence identifies and emphasises traditional material with which the readers were familiar, the truth of which they would readily accept (Harding 1998). The overwhelming majority of commentators believe the saying is the preceding material, though they differ as to its extent. Based mainly on its verbal coherence and poetic structure, “the vast majority of exegetes identify it as vv. 4-7” (Knight 1992:348).¹⁸⁵

Grammatically, the formula consists of a subject ὁ λόγος and a predicate πιστός, with the latter being placed before the subject for emphasis. A literal translation would be *the saying is trustworthy*. The article is anaphoric (Wallace 1996:221), pointing to the saying and defining it as a conceptual entity. Consequently, *this* is a better rendering than *the*. Greenlee (1989:96) says that *this is a faithful saying* “is grammatically inadmissible” because it renders πιστός as an attributive rather than a predicate adjective. However, if a translation is

¹⁸⁵ For a full discussion, see Knight 1992:347-350.

evaluated in terms of communicative success rather than text-based equivalence, there is no difference between *this saying is faithful* and *this is a faithful saying*.

For an indirect translation the problem is to convey the fact that 3:4-7 was a piece of authoritative tradition with which the readers were familiar. Setting it out as poetry (CEV, NA27) or in quotation marks (NET) may help, but without some sort of explication modern readers will attribute it to Paul and treat *this saying is trustworthy* as an attempt to emphasise its truthfulness and importance. To this end I have inserted *traditional* as an attributive modifier of *saying*.

(3:8b) καὶ περὶ τούτων βούλομαί σε διαβεβαιοῦσθαι. Firstly, to what does τούτων refer? Since the author's exhortations to Titus throughout the letter have focussed on the behaviour he must teach, it seems unlikely that it should be limited to the doctrinal material covered by the faithful saying, that is, to 3:3-7 or 3:4-7 (so Banker 1994; Kelly 1963). This conclusion is strengthened by the reference to good works in 3:8c. Thus it seems probable that it includes at least the exhortations in 3:1-2 (Fee 1988; Knight 1992; Lea and Griffin 1992), and possibly all the exhortations from 2:1-3:7 (Lock 1924).

Now we can consider the relationship between this proposition and the faithful saying. If τούτων refers to the same material as the faithful saying, then Banker (1994:91) would be correct that καί expresses "a logical relationship (grounds-exhortation)." However, if τούτων refers to more than just the faithful saying, then καί simply indicates "a close connection between 'faithful is the word' and the following admonition" (Greenlee 1989:96; cf. Fee 1984; Gealy and Noyes 1955), and περὶ τούτων probably means *concerning such things* (cf. NET, REB). Then the relationship between 3:8a and 3:8b would be specific-GENERIC, with the latter functioning as a generalisation to conclude the paraenetic section of the letter.

For a direct translation, something like *and I want you to insist on these things* leaves the interpretive issues in the balance because *and* can be interpreted as having either a continuative or inferential force depending on the frame of reference assigned to *these things*. An indirect translation does better to make clear that this proposition is a generalisation by rendering περὶ τούτων as *such things* or *these kinds of things*. This virtually guarantees communicative clarity regardless of how καί is handled or how the translation punctuates between 3:8a and 3:8b (compare NET with REB). The emphasis the original word order places on περὶ τούτων can be conveyed by italics (direct translation) or by paraphrasing so as to keep it near the front of the clause (indirect translation; cf. REB). Finally, the continuous action implied by the Greek present tense verbs is also implied by English verbs such as *insist* or *emphasise*.

(3:8c) ἵνα φροντίζωσιν καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ. The ἵνα clause states the goal of Titus' teaching. οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ raises two points of interest. Firstly, the substantival participle form of πιστεύω occurs much more frequently in the present (45x) than the perfect tense (6x). The perfect tense, which occurs only here in a NT epistle, stresses the past act of placing faith in God. Secondly, πιστεύω sometimes takes a dative object of the person whose word one believes. Hence this clause could be translated *those who have believed God*, meaning *those who have believed what God has said*. However, the context requires the clause to refer to saving faith, thus making θεῷ equivalent to εἰς τὸν θεόν and favouring the meaning *those who have believed in God* (cf. Acts 16:34; Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Fee 1988; Knight 1992; Quinn 1990; Towner 1994). For translation of οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ, see below.

φροντίζω, *concentrate on, be concerned about*, “gives the idea that good deeds should be a constant concern of the believer” (Banker 1994:109). προΐστημι with the genitive: *busy oneself with, engage in* (BAGD s.v. 2), *practice* (Newman 1971:151); the reciprocal force of the middle voice is strongly felt. Although προΐστημι sometimes denoted practicing a profession, this can hardly be its meaning here since it would then introduce “a completely fresh and not strictly relevant theme” (Kelly 1963:254) and would require *good works*, a thematic motif in the letter, to refer to honourable occupations. As a unit, φροντίζωσιν καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι is more than just a periphrasis for *doing good works*. The author has used “two content-intensive verbs” (Banker 1994:109) to emphasise that (a) good works are of more than passing interest to the Christian life, they are central to it, and (b) good works are not an automatic result of conversion, they require constant, conscious effort from believers.

Neither *those who believe in God* (GNB; cf. CEV, NLT) nor *those who have believed in God* do justice to οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ. The former fails to capture the stress on the past act of conversion, while the latter can be taken to mean that they no longer believe in God.¹⁸⁶ The clearest rendering seems to be *those who have put their trust in God*. However, to retain slightly more formal correspondence, I have kept the standard gloss for πιστεύω, *believe*, and translated *those who have come to believe in God* (NRSV). The NASB, *those who have believed God*, is true to the linguistic form of the original, but not to its context-enriched communicative clue. The translation of φροντίζωσιν καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι should

¹⁸⁶ This danger is heightened by the fact that the false teachers in 1:10-16 were insiders in the process of rejecting the truth. The translation should prevent the reader from incorrectly associating *those who have believed in God* (3:8) with *those who are rejecting the truth* (1:14).

convey that engaging in good works is a constant and conscious activity that requires both intent and action. For this purpose, the popular *be careful to* (NASB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, REB, RSV) is too weak; *be concerned with* (GNB) is a little better, but *be intent on* (NET) really captures the sense of mental resolve that φροντίζωσιν must have conveyed to the original readers. Either *devote themselves to good works* or *engage in good works* is satisfactory for καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι.

(3:8d) ταῦτά ἐστιν καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. This states the reason for engaging in good works. ταῦτα refers to the same things as περὶ τούτων (3:8b), so it should be rendered the same way. καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα is a hendiadys, with the latter term defining the former. Since καλά draws the nuance *helpful* from ὠφέλιμα, it makes sense to render it as such (CEV). τοῖς ἀνθρώποις is a dative of advantage, hence *for all men/people*.

(3:9a) μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας καὶ ἔρεις καὶ μάχας νομικὰς περιΐστασο. 3:9a-b stands in distinct contrast to 3:8b-c. Indicators of this contrast include (a) the conjunction δέ, (b) the contrasting ἵστημι compounds, προΐστημι and περιΐστημι,¹⁸⁷ and (c) the contrast between what is profitable (good works) and what is unprofitable (foolish disputes). In terms of content 3:9-11 returns to the subject matter addressed in 1:10-16 and seems to represent the author's concluding remarks about resolving the problems being caused by the false teachers.

The middle of περιΐστημι denotes *avoiding, keeping clear of* someone or something (Newman 1971:141). Its meaning here must be understood in the light of the preceding instructions to *silence* and *rebuke* the false teachers (1:11, 13) and the following instructions to *warn* and *shun* divisive people (3:10). The force of the present imperative is ingressive-progressive, meaning *begin and continue avoiding*. This is a contextual implication derived from my historical reconstruction, which suggests that Titus had been engaging in theological discussion with the false teachers in an effort to persuade them. This implicature should be evident to a reader familiar with the original context, but an indirect translation can aid the reader by making it explicit. Inserting *from now on* is an attempt to capture the ingressive-progressive force of περιΐστασο in natural English idiom and at the same time indicate that Titus had been involved in such disputes.

The remainder of the clause is structurally symmetrical, consisting of four nouns flanked by two adjectives, with each noun joined to the preceding one by καί. Furthermore, three of the nouns “belong the to semantic domain of controversy-argument” (Banker

¹⁸⁷ The contrast between them is strengthened by the use of alliteration.

1994:113). One interpretation is that the three-fold repetition of καί is polysyndetic, serving to distinguish the four nouns from each other (cf. BDF §460).¹⁸⁸ The alternative is to treat each adjective as modifying two nouns, thus forming two pairs: (a) *foolish speculations and genealogies* and (b) *arguments and quarrels about the law*. In all probability, the list is simply a conglomeration of overlapping terms describing different aspects of the false teaching.

μωρὰς ζητήσεις: *foolish disputes*. ζήτησις (3x in Pastoral Epistles) denotes a controversy or dispute over an insignificant issue. μωρός implies that arguing over unimportant issues is unwise. γενεαλογίας: *genealogies*, probably indicating the subject of the *foolish disputes* (cf. 1 Tim 1:4). Mitchell and Millar (1982) summarise the two main interpretations of *genealogies* in the context of the false teaching opposed by the Pastoral Epistles:

It is possible that in speaking of these Paul has in mind either the sort of mythical histories based on the OT which are found in Jewish apocryphal books such as the book of *Jubilees*, or else the family-trees of aeons found in Gnostic literature.

They obviously do not refer to the genealogies of the OT.

Whereas many commentators in the 19th and early 20th centuries believed the heresy of the Pastoral Epistles was primarily Gnostic, most modern commentators believe it was primarily Jewish, but with Gnostic elements. Neither meaning can be conveyed by an indirect translation because a modern audience, lacking knowledge of Jewish genealogies and Gnostic cosmologies, could never make the connection the original readers did. Any attempt would have to generalise the historically particular nature of the original reference, such as *spiritual pedigrees* (LB) or *speculative cosmologies*. ἔρεις: *contentions, quarrels*, here indicating the fruit of the foolish disputes. μάχας νομικάς: *quarrels about the law*; νομικός refers to the Jewish religious law.

(3:9b) εἰσὶν γὰρ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ μάταιοι. This supplies the grounds of the previous proposition. Titus must avoid such things because they are unprofitable and unhelpful. ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ μάταιοι stands in direct contrast to καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα in 3:8d. This further suggests translating καλὰ as *helpful*.

(3:10) αἵρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νοουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ. The author now amplifies on the previous instruction. Although there is only one verb, μετὰ νοουθεσίαν is semantically equivalent to νοουθετήσας; it implies a second instruction that is less prominent than that conveyed by the main verb. μίαν is a cardinal number substituted for

¹⁸⁸ In this view, it is coincidental that the two adjectives occur first and last in the list.

an ordinal number (Zerwick 1996:651), hence μίαν καὶ δευτέραν is idiomatic for *first and second*. νουθεσία: *admonition, instruction, warning*; the word combines the notions of instructing someone about correct belief or behaviour (LN §33.231) and warning them of the consequences of wrong belief or behaviour (LN §33.424). The reference is clearly to formal warnings which become progressively more stern as milder ones are not heeded. Presumably the first warning would fall toward the instruction end of the spectrum and the second toward the warning end.

αἰρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον: *a divisive man*. The adjective αἰρετικός depicts someone who holds to “aberrant opinions” (White n.d.:201), thereby causing division. The focus is on the result of their actions rather than the content of the beliefs. It probably did not yet refer to full blown *heresy* (Fee 1988:211), though that sense is not far away (Hendriksen 1957; Lock 1924). Although some regard it as referring to those who are members of sects or “dissident groups” (Kelly 1963:256),¹⁸⁹ the argument of the letter suggests that the author has the false teachers of 1:10-16 in mind (Fee 1988; Hendriksen 1957; Knight 1992; Quinn 1990). Titus must warn them twice and then avoid them because they are causing divisions. The indefinite reference would include any divisive person (man or woman), though the primary (i.e. immediate) reference is to those propagating the errors denounced in 3:9a. The preceding command using περίστασο (3:9a) suggests that the time for informal dialogue with the false teachers has passed. Therefore, παραιτέομαι, *reject, avoid*, must refer to formal church discipline, that is, excommunication (Knight 1992; Towner 1994); BAGD (s.v. 2.a) suggests *discharge, dismiss, drive out* as suitable glosses.

Most dynamic equivalence translations render μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν as a verb phrase (CEV, GNB, NIV, NLT). This is unnecessarily misleading because it gives the impression that the warnings are more prominent than the disciplinary action. *Reject a divisive person after two warnings* is a perfectly natural and clear English construction that retains the focus of the Greek text. Another mistake is to render μίαν καὶ δευτέραν as *one or two* (CEV, NET).¹⁹⁰ This English idiom is too colloquial to suit the context of formal church discipline. In the context of disciplinary procedure, the specific number of warnings is relevant information. The translation must convey that *two* formal warnings are necessary.

¹⁸⁹ Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972:151) also consider this a possibility. They say, “[I]t remains a question whether the word here alludes only the divisions implied in Tit 1:11, or whether it indicates membership in sects.”

¹⁹⁰ The problem here is that the two nouns are separated by a disjunctive conjunction.

(3:11a) εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἁμαρτάνει. εἰδὼς is a causal participle, so this unit expresses the grounds for the church discipline in 3:10. Since it has Titus as its implied subject, it can be translated *because you know*. ὁ τοιοῦτος, *such a man*, that is, *this kind of person*, refers to the kind of person described in 3:10—any divisive person who ardently refuses to heed correction.

The two verbs state two reasons that justify excommunicating such a person. ἐξέστραπται is the perfect middle/passive of ἐκστρέφω, *turn aside, pervert* (BAGD), or *corrupt* (LN §88.265). The word depicts someone who has been turned away from something (passive) or has turned himself away from something (middle), thus becoming perverted or corrupted. Although the perfect tense focuses on the resultant perverted state (Banker 1994; Fee 1988), it still indicates a definite past act or process of becoming corrupt. The word could denote perverted behaviour (LN §88.265) or perverted belief (Banker 1994:115; Knight 1992:355). Since it seems to parallel ἀποστρεφόμενων τὴν ἀλήθειαν in 1:14, perverted belief is probably in view. Thus ἐξέστραπται is best treated as a perfect middle indicative indicating that the divisive person has deliberately turned away from the truth of the gospel. The change in tense from ἐξέστραπται to ἁμαρτάνει, a present active indicative, is striking. The present tense denotes ongoing action, hence *he continues to sin* or *he keeps on sinning*. Having become corrupt, he insists on continuing in his sinful ways, insisting on sparking controversy and refusing to heed correction.

As I have interpreted the argument of 3:10-11, a divisive man is to be excommunicated because he has turned away from the truth and become perverted in his beliefs, and he continues to sin by undermining the beliefs and morals of believers and refusing to heed correction. Translations like *such a person is warped/perverted and sinful* (NIV, NRSV, RSV) fail to capture the sharp change from perfect to present tense verbs; they focus solely on the divisive man's nature, whereas the original indicative verbs focus on his actions. The more literal *such a man is perverted and is sinning* (NASB; cf. NKJV) does capture the switch of tense,¹⁹¹ but ἐξέστραπται will be understood to mean *corrupt in character* rather than corrupt in belief. Furthermore, *is perverted* focuses solely on the resultant state and loses the implicature that the person has turned from a non-perverted to a perverted state. Consequently, in a direct translation ἐξέστραπται is best rendered *has become corrupt*, accompanied by a cross-reference to 1:14 and a note explaining that it *may* denote turning

¹⁹¹ The awkward, unnatural feel of this rendering is not really a problem since the original juxtaposition of the Greek perfect and present tense verbs is equally unnatural.

from correct belief.¹⁹² An indirect translation should make the allusion to turning from the truth explicit (NLT). Furthermore, a translation should enable its readers to connect ἁμαρτάνει with the specific sin of causing division, in which the divisive man persists in spite of Titus' warnings. A direct translation should render literally—*is sinning*, to bring out the continuative force of the present tense—and leave it to the reader to make the connection, but an indirect translation can help the reader by translating quite freely.¹⁹³

(3:11b) ὢν αὐτοκατάκριτος. Given that αὐτοκατάκριτος means *self-condemned* and it pertains “to one who is condemned as a result of his own actions” (LN §30.119), there are two ways of viewing the semantic role of this clause. Firstly, it could express the grounds of ἁμαρτάνει (Banker 1994:115). This sharply separates ἁμαρτάνει from ἐξέστραπται. The flow of thought is as follows: (a) he has become corrupt; (b) he is sinning because he knows he is guilty.¹⁹⁴ Alternatively, it could express the result of the whole of 3:11a and thereby justify the course of disciplinary action called for in 3:10. He is self-condemned in the sense that his excommunication is a result of his own sinful behaviour in refusing to heed correction. The second interpretation is preferable because it seems illogical to argue that someone who ardently refuses to heed correction actually agrees with his corrector (knows he is wrong) but will not admit it.

Translations that punctuate after ἁμαρτάνει, with a comma or semi-colon, and then render *being self-condemned* or *he is self-condemned* (NASB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, RSV) imply the second interpretation. An indirect translation might make the semantic relations explicit by adding something like *as a result*. Better, however, is to explicate the information implicit in αὐτοκατάκριτος as LN (§30.119) do, “being condemned by what he himself has done.”¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Avoiding the gloss *perverted* is wise because it has developed sexual connotations that are completely missing from ἐκστρέφω.

¹⁹³ The change in form is justified by the desire to help less astute readers to interpret correctly.

¹⁹⁴ He is self-condemned in the sense that he knows he is guilty, yet continues to sin.

¹⁹⁵ For the alternate interpretation, see CEV, GNB, NET.

2.10. Titus 3:12-14

2.10.1. Translations

Table 13. Translations of Titus 3:12-14

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
12 When I send Artemas or Tychicus to you, make every effort to come to me in Nicopolis, for I have decided to spend the winter there. 13 Make every effort to help Zenas (the lawyer) and Apollos on their journey, so that they may lack nothing. 14 Our people must learn to devote themselves to good works that meet pressing needs so that they will not be unfruitful.	12 When I send Artemas or Tychicus to you, make every effort to come to me in Nicopolis, for I have decided to spend the winter there. 13 Do everything you can to help Zenas (the lawyer) and Apollos with provisions for their journey; make sure that they have everything they need. 14 Our people must learn to devote themselves to good works so that they may meet people's real needs and thus not be unfruitful.

2.10.2. Discourse Unit

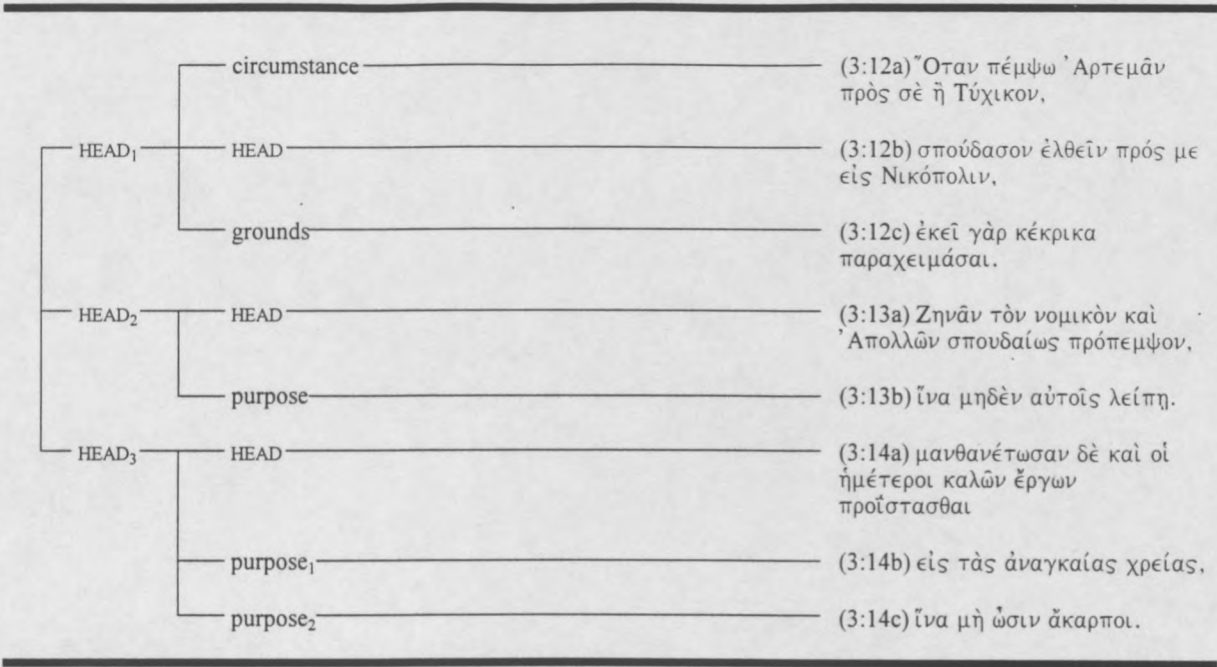
Having concluded the formal part of the letter, the author makes use of the opportunity to address a few personal instructions to Titus. The first two verses

are unified by the fact that they both have [a] personal, time-specific orientation, in contrast to the rest of the body which has material that is more general, is not so time-specific, and deals directly with the Cretan church (Banker 1994:116).

The final verse returns to the central motif of the letter—good works. However, this does not imply that it should be treated separately. The specific instruction for Titus to show hospitality to travellers simply provides the author with one last opportunity to reiterate the importance of good works.

Analysing the semantic structure of this paragraph is quite simple. Each verse is a separate sentence. Therefore, each is displayed as a separate head statement. Furthermore, each sentence contains a single main clause, which is diagrammed as the head constituent of its sentence. The function of each subordinate clause in 3:12-13 is clearly marked by its subordinating conjunction (ὅταν, γάρ, and ἵνα). Labelling the subordinate material in 3:14 is more difficult; see commentary on 3:14b and 3:14c for detailed discussion.

Diagram 14. Semantic Structure of Titus 3:12-14



2.10.3. Commentary

(3:12a) Ὅταν πέμψω Ἀρτεμᾶν πρὸς σὲ ἢ Τύχικον. This is an indefinite temporal clause that poses no translation problems. The implication is clearly that Paul is sending one of the two men mentioned here to take over from Titus, thereby relieving him to rejoin Paul.

(3:12b) σπούδασον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με εἰς Νικόπολιν. σπουδάζω can denote either (a) doing something quickly or hastily (BAGD s.v. 1; LN §68.79) or (b) doing something eagerly, diligently, or to the best of one’s ability (BAGD s.v. 2; LN §68.63). The latter is the meaning here (Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Kelly 1963; Quinn 1990). The author is uncertain whether or not Titus will be able to complete his task on Crete soon enough to travel to Nicopolis before winter sets in. How soon he is able to leave depends on several variables—how quickly the work progresses, how long it takes Artemas or Tychicus to arrive, how quickly he is able to hand the work over to his replacement, etc.

Although there were several cities named Nicopolis in the ancient world, the one in view here can be positively identified as “the Nicopolis in Epirus; ... also known as Nicopolis of Achaia” (Smith 1996; cf. Knight 1992; Quinn 1990). Nicopolis was situated about 300 km northwest of Corinth and was the largest city on the west coast of Achaia, “a good centre for missionary work in Dalmatia (2 Ti 4¹⁰) or for a journey to Rome” (Lock 1924:158).

(3:12c) ἐκεῖ γὰρ κέκρικα παραχειμάσαι. This poses no problems for a direct translation. In the case of an indirect translation, modern readers will miss the implicature that he was spending the winter there because travelling was unsafe during the winter months, but

little can be done about this in translation. From an English point of view, *to spend the winter* is more natural than *to winter* (NIV).

(3:13a) Ζηνᾶν τὸν νομικὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶν σπουδαίως πρόπεμψον. This second instruction is a miniature letter of recommendation to ensure the church's support for Zenas and Apollos. The interpretation of the details of this verse depends heavily upon whether or not Zenas and Apollos were already in Crete (so Lea and Griffin 1992; Litfin 1985; Scott 1936) or were en route to Crete (so Denzer 1968; Fee 1988; Hendriksen 1957; Hiebert 1978; Kelly 1963; Knight 1992; Lenski 1946; Quinn 1990; Towner 1994). If they were en route, they were probably the bearers of the letter. If Pauline authorship is assumed, the latter is likelier because Paul, having recently left Crete, would have no way of knowing that Zenas and Apollos had arrived since he left. If non-Pauline authorship is assumed, this paragraph is either a genuine fragment removed from its original context or a fictitious event; in either case, we have no way of knowing whether they are envisioned as being in Crete or en route to Crete.

τὸν νομικόν probably means that Zenas was a Roman legal practitioner (LN §56.37; Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Kelly 1963; Knight 1992), though it may mean he was an expert in Jewish religious law (Lock 1924; Robertson 1931). "This designation is perhaps given here to distinguish him from another man of the same name and his profession is not in focus" (Greenlee 1989:106, alluding to Banker 1994). Nevertheless, it implies that he was a trained rhetorician and a man of high social status (Keener 1993:641). Since Apollos is known to have been a Christian worker (cf. Acts 18:24-19:1 and 1 Corinthians 3), we may safely assume that Zenas and Apollos were Christian workers on a ministerial journey. Placing *the lawyer* in parentheses in translation clarifies the fact that it represents non-essential information added for the sake of identification.

προπέμπω: "*help on one's journey* with food, money, by arranging for companions, means of travel, etc., *send on one's way*" (BAGD s.v. 2). Thus, προπέμπω refers to a special form of hospitality (White 1996;¹⁹⁶ cf. comments on 1:8). Whereas to the original readers προπέμπω implied "*send on one's way with provision for the journey*" (Zerwick 1996:651, emphasis changed), modern readers will not attach any such implicatures to translations like *send on their way* or *help on their journey*. Modern travel is less arduous and modern

¹⁹⁶ White says, "Thus, the technical language of hospitality is to be found in Pauline usage, especially in writing letters of recommendation for his travelling co-workers."

travellers usually supply their own provisions. Consequently, an indirect translation needs to insert *with provisions for the journey*.

σπουδαίως covers the same two meanings as σπουδάζω, namely, *hastily* and *diligently, eagerly*. If Zenas and Apollos were known to be in Crete at the time of writing, σπουδαίως would have to mean *hastily*, that is, send them on their way as soon as possible. Even if they were not already there, with winter approaching, *hastily* could be its primary denotation if they urgently needed to reach a certain destination. However, if time was not of the essence, the adverb would simply intensify the implicatures of προέμπω; not only must Titus help them, but he must do so diligently and eagerly, sparing no effort. The ἵνα clause which follows supports this nuance. Without being certain of the historical context, we cannot be sure which nuance of meaning to attribute to σπουδαίως.

In cases where there is nothing to choose between two interpretations, it makes sense to place in the translation the one that will be most relevant to the receptor audience.¹⁹⁷ In the present case, the urgency of time constraints upon Zenas and Apollos' journey is likely to be of less interest to modern readers than the importance of Christians sparing no effort to help travelling ministers. Therefore, I have favoured taking σπουδαίως as referring to doing everything possible rather than doing something hastily.

(3:13b) ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς λείπη. According to most commentators the ἵνα clause states the goal of the previous instruction,¹⁹⁸ but some believe it “expresses the content of the implied verb ‘see to it’” (Greenlee 1989:107).¹⁹⁹ Assuming λείπη to be original,²⁰⁰ the present tense has a durative force. It implies that Titus must make sure they lack nothing for the duration of their pending journey. In other words, he must ensure that they have adequate provisions for the journey.

Either of the standard translations—*so that they may lack nothing* or *see that they lack nothing*—communicates the same meaning to English readers, namely, that all their needs

¹⁹⁷ I am not in any way advocating that considerations of relevance for contemporary readers is of any help in determining the meaning of the text to its original readers. What I am suggesting is that when and only when translators are evenly torn between two interpretations, they should take their readers into account when deciding which interpretation to follow. The rationale for this is that the translated text needs to be maximally relevant to its target readers, so when evidence for the original meaning is unclear pragmatic, considerations can be used to make a choice.

¹⁹⁸ Banker (1987), Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972), Hendriksen (1957), Knight (1992), Lenski (1946), and Robertson (1931).

¹⁹⁹ Greenlee is not expressing his own opinion with this statement, but citing the opinion of Kelly (1963) and Lock (1924). All the translations under investigation except the KJV, NASB, and NKJV translate this way.

²⁰⁰ Elliot (1968:162-63) argues that the aorist variant is original on the grounds that it is characteristic of the Pastoral Epistles. However, neither NA27 nor UBS4 seriously considers it as a possible original reading.

must be supplied. Readers of an indirect translation are unlikely to appreciate the arduous nature of travelling in the ancient world; therefore, they will fail to appreciate the importance of helping them on their way. Changing the expression from a negative statement (*they may lack nothing*) to a positive statement (*they may have everything they need*) certainly helps to clarify the meaning (GNB, NIV).

(3:14a) *μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι*. The situation concerning Zenas and Apollos provides the author with an ideal opportunity to once again exhort the church to good works. This proposition represents a self-standing third exhortation, but is closely connected with the preceding instruction.²⁰¹ The communicative function of *δὲ καί*, literally *and ... also*, is simply to add another instruction. As such, it is probably best translated *moreover* (Banker 1994:118) or *in addition* or even left untranslated (CEV, GNB, NIV).

The remainder of the clause closely parallels 3:8c. *οἱ ἡμέτεροι, our people* (BAGD), referring to the believers, corresponds to *οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ, καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι* is reproduced exactly (for comments, see 3:8c), and *μανθανέτωσαν* replaces *φροντίζουσιν* as the main verb. The basic meaning of *μανθάνω* is *to learn*; here it specifically refers to learning “through experience ... with the implication of reflection” (LN §27.15; cf. BAGD s.v. 4).

(3:14b) *εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας*. This prepositional phrase, which modifies *μανθανέτωσαν*, has been variously understood as expressing cause (Dana and Mantey 1927:103-04), reference/respect (Quinn 1990), and purpose (Turner 1963:266). Turner’s classification is probably best. Even if it is classified otherwise, the point remains the same—their good works must be oriented toward meeting *the pressing needs*. *τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας*, the urgent, pressing, or real needs, “is well documented in Hellenistic ... texts” (Quinn 1990:258) as an idiom for meeting people’s basic needs. Here it refers to meeting the basic needs of other people (Banker 1994; Fee 1988; Kelly 1963), especially fellow Christians like Zenas and Apollos (Hiebert 1978; Lock 1924).²⁰²

The translation of *τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας* should make two things clear: firstly, that essential, basic needs such as food and clothing are in view; secondly, that it alludes primarily

²⁰¹ 3:14 could perhaps be analysed as standing in a specific-generic relationship with 3:13. The way in which Titus demonstrates Christian hospitality to Zenas and Apollos is a specific example of the kind of good works that all Christians should constantly be performing.

²⁰² “Some restrict it to [providing for] the needs of one’s own family” (Greenlee 1989:109), but this interpretation is a result of taking *καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι* as referring to practicing a profession.

to meeting other people's needs (cf. discussion of ἄκαρπος in 3:14c). Straightforward renderings like *to meet pressing needs* (NASB, NET) or *to meet urgent needs* (NKJV, NRSV) convey both points adequately.²⁰³

(3:14c) ἵνα μὴ ὦσιν ἄκαρποι. Like the prepositional phrase just discussed, this ἵνα clause also modifies μανθανέτωσαν, expressing the purpose of 3:14a. If both 3:14b and 3:14c express the purpose of 3:14a, then they would appear to be co-ordinate, supplying respectively the positive and negative purposes of 3:14a. Thus 3:14c would supply the purpose of 3:14a and stand in contrast to 3:14b. However, this analysis is over simplified. Semantically, 3:14b states the immediate purpose of good works whereas the 3:14c states their ultimate purpose. Conceptually, therefore, 3:14b states the purpose of 3:14a; then 3:14c states the purpose of 3:14a-b together. Thus 3:14b and 3:14c are not completely co-ordinate; there is progression, with the latter building upon the former. They must devote themselves to doing good works so as to meet others' needs (3:14a-b); thereby (the purpose of all that goes before) they ensure that their lives make a productive contribution (3:14c).

Several translations conjoin 3:14b and 3:14c with *and* (CEV, GNB, NET, NIV, RSV), causing them both to express purposes of 3:14a. This is acceptable so long as some measure is taken to make clear that the two are not on the same semantic level, that 3:14c resumes where 3:14b leaves off. In other words, the translation must somehow mark the progression in thought. Only the NET does this successfully; it reads *to meet pressing needs and so not be unfruitful*. By adding *so* after *and* it alerts the reader to the fact that the concluding purpose clause builds upon the previous one. Contrast this with the NIV, which reads *in order that they may provide for daily necessities and not live unproductive lives*. The impression created here is one of simple contrast between the conjoined clauses, without any sense of progression. Simply adding *thus* after *and* would rectify the problem. Alternatively, there is nothing wrong with the more literal translations (NASB, NKJV, NRSV) that do not conjoin 3:14b and 3:14c. What is crucial, however, is to introduce the two purpose clauses with a different marker of purpose, thereby alerting the reader to the semantic distinction just as the original does. For the sake of clarity, I chose to render 3:14b as a relative clause qualifying *good works*. Although this skews the formal resemblance between the original and the translation, it successfully communicates that the good works are intended to meet pressing needs and that the goal of doing works that meet people's needs is being fruitful.

²⁰³ The NIV rendering, *in order that they may provide for daily necessities*, leans toward the idea of providing for one's own needs. This is chiefly due to the fact that *daily necessities* is often used as an idiom for one's own basic needs.

ἄκαρπος: *unfruitful, fruitless* (BAGD). This word draws on a familiar agricultural metaphor of productive/unproductive fruit trees. As a tree’s purpose is to bear fruit, so a Christian’s purpose is to do good works, that is, to meet the needs of others. A fruitful tree meets people’s needs; an unfruitful one does not. The explicature is that they will be unproductive; the implicature is that an unproductive Christian (one who does not practise good works) is of no value to others. A direct translation will certainly retain the metaphor, but whether an indirect translation retains or explicates it will depend on how sensitive the target readers are likely to be to its agricultural implicatures.

2.11. Titus 3:15

2.11.1. Translations

Table 14. Translations of Titus 3:15

Direct Translation	Indirect Translation
15 All who are with me send you greetings. Greet those who love us in the faith. Grace be with you all.	15 All who are with me send you greetings. Pass on my greetings to all our friends in the faith. May the Lord be gracious to you all.

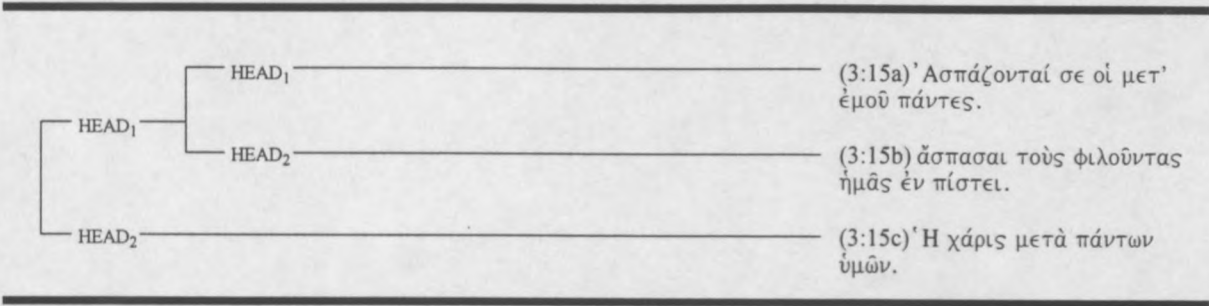
2.11.2. Discourse Unit

Neither the boundaries nor the semantic structure of this unit pose any problems. As Banker (1994:119) explains,

This verse is characteristic of the *closing* of a Pauline epistle. It is composed of three Greek sentences (as punctuated by the UBS Greek text). The typical vocabulary of greeting and benediction are present.

The first two sentences are both greetings; therefore, they are diagrammed together. The closing benediction is shown separately.

Diagram 15. Semantic Structure of Titus 3:15



2.11.3. Commentary

(3:15a) Ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες. This is a standard closing greeting. οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες “may be either his fellow workers or all the Christians where he is” (Knight 1992:359). ἀσπάζομαι implies a warm, affectionate attitude. *Send greetings* also conveys similar nuances while retaining the formal sense of the original; to explicate *affectionately* (Quinn 1990:253) is unnecessary and may be misleading.

(3:15b) ἄσπασαι τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐν πίστει. This is the author's greeting to those he knows personally in Crete. ἄσπασαι, *greet*, can be rendered more idiomatically as *pass on my greetings*. τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς: *those who love us*, or more colloquially, *our friends*. ἐν πίστει refers to the sphere of Christian faith, hence *in the faith*.

(3:15c) Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. This is simply a formulaic benedictory prayer. For a direct translation, the straightforward *grace be with you all* is best; it can be assumed that the readers will recognise it as a benedictory prayer. An indirect translation can cast it in the form of a prayer; for example, *may the Lord be gracious to you*.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

1. An Assessment of Relevance Theoretic Approaches

This study set out to explicate two relevance theoretic approaches to Bible translation and to test their practical applicability by translating the epistle to Titus. Two sample translations of Titus, an indirect translation (Appendix A) and a direct translation (Appendix B), represent the end result of this process. Now let me make some tentative assessments of the effectiveness of these two approaches in the light of the sample translations.

A cursory reading of the two sample translations gives the impression that they are not fundamentally different from the translations with which English readers are familiar. The indirect translation (Appendix A) seems much like a regular functionally equivalent translation, lying somewhere toward the freer end of the spectrum that functional equivalence covers. Likewise, the direct translation (Appendix B) appears to be just another translation struggling to balance literalness with naturalness, reflecting the familiar tension between form and meaning. When surveying the end product, one must wonder whether or not the two relevance theoretic approaches are substantially different from older approaches. Are the differences real or apparent? Do the many practical problems that confront translators ultimately level the playing field, with the result that differences which seem significant in theory fade away into insignificance in practice?

Furthermore, the discussion of translation did not introduce any new issues. The kinds of issues discussed—being faithful to the meaning of the original, using natural forms of expression, making the text easy to understand—have all been addressed before. Is this not just a case of old ideas being reformulated using the technical terminology of relevance theory? Even the emphasis placed on providing notes to overcome interpretive problems is an old idea. How does the suggested direct translation differ from a study Bible using the NRSV or the NIV text, or from the NET with its notes?

On the surface, these objections seem valid, but a deeper analysis reveals that the differences between the sample translations and older translations are both real and

significant, with the new translations representing an improvement over older ones.²⁰⁴ Let us explore some of the differences.

The observation that relevance theory does not introduce any new issues into the mixture of variables that translators must take into consideration is true. Gutt (1991) did not attempt to simplify the complex nature of translation by introducing a hitherto overlooked variable that somehow resolves the difficulties associated with the process. Instead, he attempted to provide translators with understanding of the nature of translation as a special type of communication. An understanding of the nature of translation enables translators to predict the keys to successful communication in translation, thereby empowering them to manipulate the range of variables with which they work in ways that are most effective for the type of translation they are trying to produce.

What contribution does relevance theory make to translation? It helps translators to understand the conditions of communicative success in different kinds of translation situations. In particular, it draws their attention to the context-dependent nature of communication and the implications this has for translation. It helps them to combine variables in combinations that facilitate effective communication, either in the receptor context (indirect translation) or in the source context (direct translation). The difference between the relevance theoretic approaches and older methods lies not in the range of variables they work with, but in the manner in which they combine those variables.

My indirect translation (Appendix A) represents an attempt to produce a translation that assumes the receptor context throughout (i.e. a pure indirect translation). It attempts to convey as many as possible of the original's assumptions in a way that will be spontaneously intelligible to English readers. Its goal is to attain the highest level of interpretive resemblance that is possible in the receptor context. Before beginning work on the translation of Titus, I expected that there would be many instances in which the contextual gap between the source and the receptor contexts would cause such great loss of contextual effects that the degree of interpretive resemblance the complete translation could attain would be unacceptable for a Bible translation.²⁰⁵ Contrary to my expectations, however, there were few passages in which

²⁰⁴ I must immediately qualify the last statement. I do not claim that *my* translations are superior to major scholarly translations like the NIV or the NRSV. Being the work of one inexperienced translator, I have no doubt that my translations are littered with errors caused by faulty understanding of the original text, personal theological bias, or imperfect mastery of English style. What I do claim is that in the imperfect samples lies the potential for translations that are better than any existing ones. If the skill of the translators were equal, a high quality direct translation would be superior to a high quality formal or functional equivalence translation.

²⁰⁵ Naturally, judgements concerning what constitutes an acceptable level of resemblance are highly subjective.

indirect translation was *completely* unable to convey the author-intended meaning. It frequently lost small nuances of meaning, but seldom failed to capture the main points.

The level of interpretive resemblance an indirect translation can achieve depends largely on the kind of communication situation involved. Three kinds of communication situations are discernible: (a) universal, (b) comparable, and (c) diverse. Universal situations are those in which the text conveys timeless truths that do not depend on a specific historical context for their interpretation—general principles or universal human experiences.²⁰⁶ Comparable situations occur when the interpretation of the original utterance *is* context-dependent, but the receptor context is sufficiently similar that it provides readers with enough background schema to retrieve some of the implicatures of the original utterance. Diverse situations occur when the original utterance is context-dependent and the receptor culture has no comparable particular, making it impossible for readers to derive the author-intended implicatures.

In universal communication situations, when the meaning of the original lies totally within the realm of general principles or universal human experience, indirect translation can almost achieve complete interpretive resemblance through a straightforward rendering. The study of Titus yielded several illustrations. The straightforward translation *they claim to know God, but by their actions they deny him* captures the force of θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀρνοῦνται in 1:16 clearly because religious hypocrisy is something of a universal human experience.²⁰⁷ Similarly, in 3:5 an indirect translation can render *he saved us, not because of righteous works which we ourselves had done but because of his own mercy*, just like a direct translation. The reason for this is that the propositional form of the utterance is fully truth conditional; it does not have to be contextually enriched.

In situations where the original utterance is context-dependent, but the receptor context has comparable particulars, an indirect translation can attain a fairly high level of interpretive resemblance.²⁰⁸ In some cases it is necessary to explicate implicit information, whereas in others the similarities between the source and the receptor context allow readers to draw most of the inferences available to the original readers. For example, the implicatures associated with the phrase μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς in 2:15 were derived from the social conventions governing the reception and treatment of diplomatic envoys in the Greco-Roman world.

²⁰⁶ In relevance theoretic terms, these situations occur when the linguistic content of an utterance is fully truth conditional, needing no contextual enrichment.

²⁰⁷ If it is not completely universal, it is certainly familiar to most people living in a Western culture.

²⁰⁸ Naturally, the more similar the two contexts the higher the level of interpretive resemblance that can be achieved.

Although we have no identical social practice, the idea of sending diplomatic envoys is familiar to Western culture. Therefore, by explicating the fact that Titus' authority is derived from his status as Paul's delegate, an indirect translation can attain a high level of interpretive resemblance.

The most difficult cases for indirect translation are those in which the receptor context bears little or no resemblance to the source context. In these cases, my expectation was that it would be impossible to produce immediate cognitive effects and also attain a sufficiently high level of interpretive resemblance to satisfy Bible readers that they are being provided with access to the author-intended meaning. However, in most of these cases in Titus it was possible to capture the main thrust of the original utterance by explicating implicit information, replacing a specific with a generic, or substituting a specific for a generic.

θεοῦ οἰκονόμον (1:7) had to be explicated because Western culture has no social institution equivalent to stewardship. The explicated form loses some of its weaker implicatures, but it conveys the main point. More difficult was φιλόξενον (1:8), which relies on familiarity with the Hellenistic manner of showing hospitality for its interpretation. To render it *hospitality* would significantly alter the range of implicatures conveyed to a modern reader. The explicated form (*he should help strangers*) is a slight improvement over *hospitality*. Explication was also used to capture the force of the epiphany language in 2:11 and 3:4. Rendering ἐπέφανη as *God manifested ... by sending Jesus Christ* captures two crucial implicatures of the original verb quite accurately. Some might feel that this involves too large a deviation from the explicit content of the original, but I am satisfied with it because relevance theory evaluates translation on the basis of interpretive resemblance rather than textual equivalence.

The proverbial saying πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς· τοῖς δὲ μεμιαμμένοις ... οὐδὲν καθαρὸν in 1:15 also posed problems. The difficulty here is that considerations of ritual cleanness play little or no role in Western conceptions or spirituality, so English readers are likely to miss the fact that *everything is pure* and *nothing is pure* refer to ascetic prohibitions. Since the primary reference of these phrases is to food laws, I chose to make the generic terms *everything* and *nothing* more specific, hence *every food* and *no food*. This captures the central thrust of this proverb adequately, though at the expense of narrowing the scope of its reference. Although I expect some will find this too large an alteration, I am confident of communicative success. If readers understand that it is a reference to ritual purity, they will generalise its force to include other ceremonial practices.

The most problematic passages were the two specific allusions to the content of the heresy threatening the Cretan church: 'Ιουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι (1:14) and γενεαλογίαι (3:9). These terms are so historically particular that their meaning cannot be adequately conveyed through an indirect translation. Although they were allusions to specific false teachings, the best I could do was to generalise them, turning them into allusions to certain kinds of teachings. However, it is doubtful whether *speculative religious theories* and *spiritual pedigrees* effectively capture the force of the original terms.

In conclusion, the indirect translation of Titus suffers many small losses in contextual effects but seldom encounters situations in which the main thrust of the original is not communicable at all. Although it attains a higher level of interpretive resemblance than was expected, the cumulative effect of the many small losses make the complete translation significantly inferior to the direct translation.

The text of my direct translation (Appendix B) is not significantly different from that of other English versions that strive to balance literalness with naturalness (e.g. NRSV). The big difference concerns the notes it includes. The philosophy underlying these notes differs significantly from that underlying the notes found in most of the study Bibles currently on the market. One common use of notes in study Bibles is to interpret the text for readers, explaining the significance of background information and drawing interpretive conclusions. The goal of direct translation is to give readers potential access to all the assumptions the Bible conveyed to its original readers *without* interpreting the text for them. Relevance theory shows that this can only be done by enlarging their cognitive environment so that they are able retrieve the text's implicatures for themselves. Consequently, the notes supplied in a direct translation should never interpret the text for the readers. They should simply enlarge the readers' cognitive environment, thereby empowering them to enter into a meaningful interpretive dialogue with the text from which they can draw their own inferences.

The difference between these two approaches is easily demonstrated by contrasting the notes in my direct translation with those in the NIV study Bible (Barker 1995).²⁰⁹ Table 15 makes three differences apparent. Firstly, the NIV study Bible sometimes gives interpretive commentary about the significance of the text (e.g. 1:15 and 2:11). By explaining to the readers what they could have inferred for themselves, it takes the responsibility for interpreting the text away from the readers and places it in the hands of the editors

²⁰⁹ I have chosen the NIV study Bible for this comparison because many of its notes provide contextual background. Thus, it lies closer to a direct translation than many other study Bibles, which often focus on devotional comments aimed at explaining the application of the text to modern times.

(translators). Secondly, it summarises the argument of the text by restating the main thrust of certain sections (e.g. 2:11-14). Since its target readers should be able to follow the argument of the text for themselves, a direct translation does not need to make such interpretive summaries. Thirdly, it sometimes provides the wrong contextual information. In 3:12, for example, the English translation *for I have decided to [spend the] winter there* strongly implies that Paul was not yet in Nicopolis. The NIV study Bible's note explains information that is readily inferable to English readers, but fails to make clear why Paul needed to spend the winter in a single location. Providing inappropriate contextual information is usually the result of failing to think in terms of communicative success when providing notes, that is, not taking into account how differences between the cognitive environments of the original and the receptor readers affect what assumptions the receptor readers will not be able to infer.

Table 15. Comparison of Notes: NIV Study Bible with Direct Translation

Text	Note in NIV Study Bible	Note in Direct Translation
1:15	... The principle of this verse does not conflict with the many NT teachings against practices that are morally and spiritually wrong. ²¹⁰	The expression <i>to those who are the pure, all things are pure</i> was an ancient proverb. The second part, <i>all things are pure</i> , refers to ceremonial purity, especially to the fact that all foods were ceremonially pure. The false teachers were probably teaching that eating certain unclean foods defiles one spiritually.
2:11-14	Briefly describes the effect grace should have on believers. It encourages rejection of ungodliness and leads to holier living....	No note.
2:11	<i>For</i> . Introduces the doctrinal basis for the ethical demands just stressed. Right conduct must be founded on right doctrine.	No note.
3:12	<i>decided to winter there</i> . Indicates that Paul had not arrived there when he wrote and that he was still free to travel at will.	Due to harsh weather conditions, travelling was impossible during the winter months. As winter approached, travellers needed to find a safe place to spend the dangerous period

The notes in the NET are also completely different in nature to those in a direct translation. Direct translation uses notes to ensure communicative success. Communication breakdowns result from two main causes. The first is that the receptor audience does not

²¹⁰ This statement is the concluding sentence in a lengthy note, the first part of which made clear that the expressions *all things are pure* and *nothing is pure* refer to matters of ritual purity.

know the historical, cultural, and social context of the original communication act. The second is that receptor language words do not encompass the whole assumption schema of the words they represent; they usually have similar logical entries, but they often have different encyclopaedic entries. The vast majority of the notes in a direct translation are needed to overcome these two problems.

In contrast to direct translation, the NET does not use notes primarily to facilitate communicative success. Although it includes some background notes, most of its notes are supplied in order “to explain and justify the translation where necessary” (NET, *Introduction*). These notes are aimed at scholarly readers; they discuss technical translation issues arising from text-critical, lexical, and grammatical difficulties. Thus the notes function as a concise scholarly commentary on the text. For lay readers with no theological training, their technical nature is likely to produce confusion rather than clarity.

Table 16 compares one text-critical, one background, and one translation note from the NET with similar examples from my direct translation. The more technical, scholarly nature of the NET’s notes is immediately apparent. The NET discusses textual variants in technical language, usually to justify the translators’ choices. Direct translation only mentions textual variants when the interpretation of the text is at stake; it tries to keep the discussion as simple as possible, avoiding technical terms and not citing manuscript evidence. The example cited requires mention for the benefit of readers familiar with the KJV or the NKJV. The NET’s background notes (called “study notes”) are quite similar to those in my direct translation. They are, however, rather scarce. Titus contains only six study notes. Although most of the translators’ notes in the NET just give an alternate rendering without further comment, those that do receive more detailed treatment are discussed in technical language that is difficult for lay readers to understand. In the example from 2:13, English readers need to be aware that the translation in the text is not the only possible interpretation of the Greek text, but they do not need a lesson in Greek grammar.²¹¹

²¹¹ This is not intended as a criticism of the NET. Its notes are written for scholarly readers who are interested in grammatical issues. However, if the aim of the notes is to enable the translation to provide its readers with access to all the assumptions conveyed by the original, then all the note on 2:13 needs to do is make them aware that the expression in question is not completely clear in meaning.

Table 16. Comparison of Notes: NET with Direct Translation

Text	Note in NET	Text	Note in Direct Translation
1:10	Before περιτομῆς (<i>peritomēs</i>), several important manuscripts add the article (ⲛ C D* I 33 81 1739 et alii). The shorter reading is supported by fairly strong support as well, though chiefly of the Western and Byzantine texts (A D ² F G Ψ Byz). Since shorter readings are generally uncharacteristic of the Byzantine text, and since such here is backed by a few decent witnesses (especially A F G), it is most probably original.	1:4	Some manuscripts add <i>mercy</i> between <i>grace</i> and <i>peace</i> , but this was probably added by scribes to harmonise Titus with 1 and 2 Timothy.
1:14	Jewish myths were legendary tales characteristic of the false teachers in Ephesus and Crete. See parallels in 1 Tim 1:4; 4:7; and 2 Tim 4:4.		The <i>Jewish myths</i> may have been legendary tales derived by combining fanciful interpretations of the OT with esoteric Gnostic myths (cf. Tit 3:9, 1 Tim 1:4, 4:7).
2:13	The phrase “our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ” is one of the christologically significant texts affected by the Granville Sharp rule. According to this rule, in the article-noun-καί-noun construction the second noun refers to the same person described by the first noun when (1) neither is impersonal; (2) neither is plural; (3) neither is a proper name.	2:13	The expression translated <i>the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ</i> has been the subject of much debate. Although this is probably the most accurate translation, two other translations are also possible: (a) <i>the appearing of the glory of the great God and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ</i> and (b) <i>the appearing of Jesus Christ, who is the glory of our great God and Saviour</i> .

Finally, the study confirms Van der Merwe’s (1999) contention that direct translation must not be restricted to word and grammar level equivalence between the source and the translated text. It must also take the text-linguistic and socio-linguistic features of both the source and receptor languages into account. It must examine how the source text uses discourse features, rhetorical devices, and social conventions to convey meaning, and then make use of corresponding features in the receptor language to formulate a translation that conveys the same meaning as the original. This does not mean direct translation should transfer these features directly, but that it should exploit the inherent genius of the receptor language in order to produce natural yet faithful communicative clues.

One aspect of Greek discourse is its ability to manipulate word order to convey different nuances of meaning, especially emphasis. In most of these instances, English would not normally use variations in word order to convey the same nuances. However, written English compensates for this by means of two different features: (a) its highly developed system of punctuation and (b) its ability to use italics or underlining to express emphasis. My analysis of English translations of Titus suggests that their translators have not made full use of these two features. In several places the translation can capture the emphasis of the Greek text by using italics to accentuate a word or group of words, such as *God's steward* (1:7), *a helper of strangers* (1:8), *nothing bad* (2:8), *all courtesy* (3:2), and *these things* (3:8). In one instance, using parentheses enabled the translation to make it clear that a phrase was used for identification purposes and was not semantically prominent (cf. *Zenas (the lawyer)* in 3:13). Finally, in one case the use of dashes to distinguish parenthetical material enabled the translation to convey the structure of a passage clearly. The instance is in 2:9-10 where exegesis suggests that 2:9a (*Exhort slaves to submit to their owners in all things*) and 2:10c (*so that they may adorn the teaching about God our Saviour in all things*) are the two main clauses, forming an example of synthetic parallelism. Separating the intervening material in 2:9b-10b by means of dashes helps to ensure that the relationship between 2:9a and 2:10c is clear.

Another interesting aspect of Greek discourse is its tendency, in asyndetic lists of items, to group listed items into semantic pairs.²¹² The author of Titus almost always structured his lists in pairs. Clear examples of this tendency can be found in 1:8, 2:2,²¹³ 2:4-5, 2:9-10 (chiastically), and 3:3. However, when confronted with an asyndetic list of items, English readers are unlikely to notice the semantic pairs unless there is some rhetorical device (e.g. alliteration) to alert them to the connection. In English, paired items are usually conjoined (e.g. A and B, C and D, and E and F). If a direct translation is to produce a natural receptor language communicative clue that functions as clearly as the original, it needs to employ English discourse techniques to convey the structure of such lists. Throughout my direct translation of Titus, I conjoined paired items and separated pairs from one another by means of punctuation marks.

²¹² I am not sure to what extent this is true of all Greek discourse, but it is certainly true of the author of Titus.

²¹³ In this case, there are two groups of three items.

These are just two examples of how differently languages use different discourse features to achieve the same contextual effects. Failure to take these levels of analysis into account undermines the level of interpretive resemblance a translation can achieve.

2. A Proposal for Further Research

The tentative conclusion of this study is that the relevance theoretic approaches to translation, especially direct translation, represent an improvement over older methods of Bible translation. However, this study was only the first step in testing the practical applicability of relevance theoretic approaches to Bible translation. It suggests that direct translation works well when translating epistolary material, which is didactic and occasional in nature, from Greek to English, two languages with similar information structures. All that can be said with confidence at this stage is that direct translation (and, to a lesser extent, indirect translation) can achieve a high level of interpretive resemblance when translating didactic materials across languages with similar information structures. Before a broader generalisation can be made, it is necessary to test the applicability of direct and indirect translation to communication situations more diverse from the one undertaken in this study.

Two kinds of studies are necessary in order to confirm the tentative conclusion that direct translation is the best current approach to Bible translation. Firstly, direct translation must be tested on non-epistolary literary genres. Epistles are probably the biblical genre best suited to a relevance theoretic approach to translation because they are didactic and occasional (i.e. highly context-dependent) in nature. If direct translation is to gain widespread acceptance, it must be shown to be equally capable of handling narrative, poetry, and apocalyptic materials.

Secondly, direct translation must be tested in situations where the structural differences between the source and receptor languages are greater than between Greek and English. On the whole, Greek and English are structurally similar. Few aspects of Greek syntax cannot be captured by similar constructions in English. Furthermore, they are similar in terms of their information structures. The balance between explicatures and implicatures, that is, what is linguistically encoded and what left to contextual inference, is similar in these two languages. These two factors enable an English direct translation to maintain a high level of formal equivalence without sacrificing naturalness of expression. However, this is not true of all languages. The greatest challenge for direct translation will be to cope effectively with translation situations in which the structural differences between the two languages are great.

Lastly, indirect translation needs to be tested in situations where the source text is more dependent on historically particular situations that have no counterpart in modern contexts. Titus has less such situations than some other NT epistles. How well would indirect translation cope with the Corinthian letters?

In conclusion, this study has tested relevance theoretic approaches to translation in a communicative situation well suited to them—translating context-dependent, didactic materials between structurally similar languages. Direct translation proved to be the most effective method of translation for achieving complete interpretive resemblance. Indirect translation achieved a higher level of interpretive resemblance than expected, but a significantly lower level than direct translation. Now direct translation needs to be tested in less ideal translation situations to confirm whether or not it is the most effective approach to Bible translation in all translation situations.

APPENDIX A
INDIRECT TRANSLATION OF TITUS

1 :1 From Paul, a servant of God and an envoy of Jesus Christ, sent to further the faith of God's chosen people and the knowledge of the truth, which is in accordance with godliness, **2** and to promote the confident expectation of eternal life. God, who does not lie, promised this life before the beginning of time. **3** Then at the right moment he made his message of life known and entrusted me with the task of preaching it. I received this ministry by the command of God our Saviour.

4 To Titus, my loyal son in our common faith.

May God the Father and Jesus Christ our Saviour give you grace and peace.

5 The reason I left you in Crete was to finish the work we began and to appoint church leaders in every city, according to the guidelines I laid down for you. **6** An elder must be blameless. He must be a faithful husband and his children must be loyal, not liable to be accused of living recklessly or disobeying his authority. **7** An overseer must be blameless because he is in charge of *God's* household. He must not be arrogant in his opinions or easily angered or a heavy drinker or violent or greedy for money. **8** Instead, he should help strangers and love good; he should be self-controlled, upright, holy, and self-disciplined. **9** He must hold firmly to the trustworthy message based on the authoritative teaching of the apostles so that he will be able both to teach sound doctrine and to correct those who oppose it.

10 For there are many rebels who deceive believers with hollow speculation; some of the local Jewish converts are particularly to blame. **11** They must be silenced because they are misleading whole house-churches by teaching things they should not teach for the sake of material gain. **12** It was a Cretan himself, one of their greatest prophets of old, who said,

Liars ever, men of Crete,
lazy brutes who live to eat.

13 There is truth in this testimony. Therefore, correct them as rigorously as necessary so that they will be sound in what they believe, **14** no longer adhering to speculative religious theories and the man-made rules of those who are in the process of rejecting the truth. **15** To those who are pure, every food is clean; but to those who are polluted (because they do not believe), no food is clean. In fact, both their minds and consciences are defiled. **16** They claim

to know God, but by their actions they deny him; they are disobedient and detestable to God, unfit for any good work.

2:1 But as for you, keep encouraging the kind of behaviour that is consistent with sound doctrine. **2** Teach older men to be sober, dignified, and self-controlled; encourage them to remain strong in their faith in God, their love for others, and their perseverance in hard times. **3** Similarly, teach older women to behave in a reverend manner: to avoid gossiping and heavy drinking; encourage them to teach what is good **4** so that they can train the younger women to love their husbands and their children, **5** to be self-controlled and pure, to work in the home and be kind to domestic help, and to submit to their husbands, so that their behaviour will stop causing outsiders to malign the gospel. **6** Furthermore, urge the younger men to be self-controlled in all respects. **7** Present yourself as an example of good works. When you teach, show integrity, seriousness, **8** and soundness that cannot be condemned. Then those who oppose you will be put to shame because they have nothing *bad* to say about us. **9** Finally, urge slaves to submit to their owners in all things. They must try to please them instead of defying them. **10** Instead of stealing from them, they must show that they can be fully trusted. Thus they will make the teaching about God our Saviour attractive.

11 For God has manifested his grace by sending Jesus Christ, providing salvation for all people **12** and training us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts and to conduct ourselves with self-control, uprightness, and godliness in the present age **13** since we live in anticipation of the blessed hope—the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. **14** He offered his life for us to set us free from every sinful habit and to cleanse us as a people who belong exclusively to him, a people eager to do good works.

15 Teach *these things*; urge believers to follow them and correct anyone who opposes them. As my delegate, you have the authority to do this, so do not let anyone disregard you.

3:1 Keep reminding believers to have a submissive attitude toward government authorities, to do what they require, and to be ready to do whatever is good. **2** Remind them to slander no one, to yield rather than argue, and to treat all people with complete courtesy.

3 For *we* also used to be foolish and disobedient to God, deceived and enslaved by all kinds of lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hated by others and hating one another. **4** But when God our Saviour manifested his kindness and love for mankind by sending Jesus Christ, **5** he saved us, not because of righteous works which we ourselves had done but because of his own mercy, through the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. **6** He poured out the Holy Spirit upon us in abundance through Jesus Christ our Saviour

7 so that, having been pardoned by his grace, we might become heirs with the confident expectation of eternal life.

8 This traditional saying is trustworthy. These are the kinds of things I want you to emphasise so that those who have put their trust in God will be intent on devoting themselves to good works. These things are helpful and profitable for everyone. 9 But from now on avoid foolish disputes about spiritual pedigrees and quarrels and fights about the law, for they are unprofitable and unhelpful. 10 Reject divisive people after two warnings 11 because you can be sure that such people have turned away from the truth and what they are doing is sinful; they are condemned as a result of what they themselves have done.

12 When I send Artemas or Tychicus to you, make every effort to come to me in Nicopolis, for I have decided to spend the winter there. 13 Do everything you can to help Zenas (the lawyer) and Apollos with provisions for their journey; make sure that they have everything they need. 14 Our people must learn to devote themselves to good works so that they may meet people's real needs and thus not be unfruitful.

15 All who are with me send you greetings. Pass on my greetings to all our friends in the faith. May the Lord be gracious to you all.

APPENDIX B

DIRECT TRANSLATION OF TITUS

1 :1 Paul,¹ a slave² of God³ and an apostle⁴ of Jesus Christ, for the faith of God's elect and the knowledge of the truth, which is in accordance⁵ with godliness,⁶ **2** and⁷ because⁸ of the hope of eternal life.⁹ God, who does not lie, promised this life before the beginning of time. **3** Then¹⁰ at the right moment he revealed his message through preaching,¹¹ which was entrusted to me by the command of God our Saviour.¹²

4 To Titus,¹³ my true child in our common faith.

Grace¹⁴ and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour.

¹ Background. Ancient letters typically began with the name of the sender, the name of the recipient(s), and a greeting. A typical opening would be *Paul to Titus, greetings*. Christian letters followed the same basic pattern, but often expanded the parts.

² Translation and background. Or, *a servant of God*. The OT often referred to leaders as slaves of God (Gk, *douloi theou*). The phrase has its roots in the OT form of slavery in which a man could voluntarily become his master's slave, surrendering his personal freedom and pledging himself to serve his master completely for the rest of his life. The resulting service was both voluntary and complete. As a designation of a leader, it was a title of honour reserved for those who served God with total dedication.

³ Translation. Nowhere else did Paul call himself *a slave of God*, but he sometimes referred to himself as *a slave of Christ* (cf. Rom 1:1, Gal 1:10, and Phil 1:1).

⁴ Translation. The word translated *apostle* (Gk, *apostolos*) means *a sent one*. It could refer to someone sent as a delegate, an envoy, an ambassador, or a messenger. In the NT it refers a group of believers specially commissioned by God to speak on his behalf.

⁵ Translation. Or, *which leads to godliness*.

⁶ Translation. The word translated *godliness* (Gk, *eusebeia*) referred to fulfilling one's duties toward God. Those duties consisted of showing reverence for God in everyday conduct. Godliness was a highly esteemed cultural value in secular world.

⁷ Translation. Or, *a faith and knowledge based on the hope of eternal life*.

⁸ Translation. Or, *in the hope of eternal life*.

⁹ Translation. The whole of 1:1-3 is one long, complex sentence in the Greek text that does not translate naturally as a single sentence in English.

¹⁰ Translation. Literally, *but*. The Greek text emphasises the contrast between the time of the promise and the time of its fulfilment.

¹¹ Translation. Or, *in a proclamation*.

¹² Translation. Literally, *our Saviour, God*. The word order of the Greek text emphasises the word *Saviour*.

¹³ Background. The second routine part of an ancient letter is the name of the recipient. Titus was a Gentile (Gal 2:1-3), probably one of Paul's converts. He had been one of Paul's most loyal co-workers for many years (cf. 2 Cor 2:3-4, 13; 7:6-16; 8:16-24).

¹⁴ Translation. Some manuscripts add *mercy* between *grace* and *peace*, but this was probably added by scribes to harmonise the opening of Titus with that of 1 and 2 Timothy.

5 For this purpose I left¹⁵ you in Crete:¹⁶ so that you would put in order what remains to be done¹⁷ and appoint elders¹⁸ in every city,¹⁹ as *I* directed you.²⁰ 6 An elder must be blameless—a faithful husband²¹ with²² loyal²³ children²⁴ who are not subject to an accusation of being wild²⁵ or rebellious.²⁶ 7 For an overseer²⁷ must be blameless as *God's* steward,²⁸ not

¹⁵ Background. Paul and Titus had been ministering together in Crete. They had planted some new churches on the island, but unknown circumstances forced Paul to leave before the task of establishing the new churches was complete. Therefore, he left Titus behind to finish the work.

¹⁶ Background. Crete was a large, mountainous island about 300 km south of Athens. Crete was renowned for its mercenary soldiers, its sailors, its traders, and its many cities. It was also home to a large Jewish community, which had flourished on the island since the second century B.C.E.

¹⁷ Translation. Literally, *what is lacking*. The expression translated *what remains to be done* (Gk, *ta leiponta*) alludes to the work Paul and Titus had begun but not yet finished.

¹⁸ Translation and background. The basic meaning of the word translated *elder* (Gk, *presbuteros*) is *older man*. Since leadership in all spheres of life fell on senior men, *elder* became a leadership office. Cities, synagogues, and churches were all governed by groups of elders. Thirty was the minimum age at which a man could serve as an elder, though most elders were in their forties or fifties. The reason leadership was reserved for older people was that the ancients revered tradition. Older people were more familiar with cultural traditions than younger people. Therefore, they were best qualified for leadership.

¹⁹ Background. The early church used to meet in small house-churches scattered throughout the city. We can reasonably assume that each house-church had at least one elder. If a city had more than one house-church, it would certainly have multiple elders. However, since the mission in Crete was recent, it is quite possible that most cities only had one house-church at this stage.

²⁰ Background. Before he left, Paul told Titus what sort of men to appoint as elders.

²¹ Translation. Or, *a husband of one wife*. The exact meaning of the expression translated *faithful husband* (Gk, *mias gunaikos anēr*) is unclear. Literally, it translates *a one-woman man*. This has been variously understood to mean (a) he must be married, (b) he may not have been remarried, (c) he may not have more than one wife, and (d) he must be faithful to his wife.

²² Background. Since elders were senior men, it was normal for them to have children. Few men old enough to be elders would not have children.

²³ Translation. Or, *believing children*. The word translated *loyal* can mean either *believing*, implying that his children must be believers, or *faithful*, implying that his children must be well behaved.

²⁴ Background. Elders were normally household heads. As household heads they had the right to determine the religion of the household. They acted on behalf of their household, so when they converted they would make Christianity the official religion of the entire household. Their children would invariably be believers, at least nominally so.

²⁵ Translation and background. The word translated *wild* (Gk, *asōtia*) refers to *reckless living*, especially to wasting money on selfish pleasures like sexual immorality and drunkenness. It was a vice often associated with young men. Under Roman law, a father exercised lifelong authority over his children, whose behaviour brought him either honour or shame.

²⁶ Translation. Or, *disobedient*.

²⁷ Translation. In secular Greek, the word translated *overseer* (Gk, *episkopos*) referred to someone responsible for exercising oversight of someone or something, whether a home, a business, a project, a shop, or a person. Depending on the assignment, an overseer would be a guardian, a manager, or a superintendent. The person was responsible for doing everything necessary to ensure the well-being of what was under his care.

²⁸ Background. A steward (Gk, *oikonomos*) was a slave in charge of his master's household affairs. A household consisted of a wealthy patron and his family, some clients and friends, and a number of slaves with various responsibilities. The most trustworthy slave was placed in charge of his master's financial affairs and given oversight of the other slaves. His responsibilities included looking after the other slaves (e.g. rationing food), ensuring that they did their work, and handling his master's money. Although he was a fellow slave, a steward had complete authority to carry out his duties, but he was directly accountable to his master.

stubborn,²⁹ not quick-tempered, not a heavy drinker, not violent, and not greedy for shameful gain, **8** but *a helper of strangers*,³⁰ a lover of good, self-controlled,³¹ upright, holy,³² and self-disciplined. **9** He must hold fast to the trustworthy message based on the teaching,³³ so that he will be able both to exhort³⁴ believers to follow³⁵ its sound³⁶ doctrine and to correct³⁷ anyone who opposes it.

10 For there are many rebellious men,³⁸ idle talkers and deceivers, especially³⁹ among the circumcision party.⁴⁰ **11** They *must* be silenced because they are ruining⁴¹ whole

²⁹ Translation. Or, *arrogant*. The word translated *stubborn* (Gk, *authadēs*) refers to being self-willed and obstinate in one's opinions, with the implication of being arrogant and unteachable.

³⁰ Background. Travelling was extremely dangerous in ancient times. One of the problems was the quality of the inns. They were riddled with violence, theft, sexual immorality, and drunkenness. In addition, the innkeepers charged large sums of money for sleeping quarters that were filthy and insect infested. As a result, showing hospitality to travellers became both an important social value and a practical necessity. It was society's way of ensuring the well-being and safety of travelling visitors. Jews and Christians in particular went out of their way to look after their own travellers.

³¹ Translation. Or, *sensible*. The word translated *self-controlled* (Gk, *sōphrōn*) refers to sensible behaviour that characterises a rational person; such behaviour includes prudence, discipline, and moderation. Greek philosophers taught that a sensible person would live a self-controlled life. This quality is specifically required of elders, older men (2:2), young women (2:5), young men (2:6), and all believers (2:12).

³² Translation. The words translated *upright* and *holy* (Gk, *dikaios* and *hosios*) were often used together in Greek literature. When used together they referred respectively to fulfilling one's duty toward other people and one's duty toward God.

³³ Background. *The teaching* refers to a body of authoritative teachings that came from the apostles. It consisted of the core teachings of the Christian faith.

³⁴ Translation. Or, *encourage, urge, appeal to*. The same Greek word, *parakaleō*, is used in 2:6 and 2:15.

³⁵ Translation. Literally, *exhort in sound doctrine*.

³⁶ Translation. The word translated *sound* (Gk, *hugiainō*) was a medical term meaning *healthy* or *health-giving*.

³⁷ Translation. The word translated *correct* (Gk, *elenchein*) includes the entire correction process. The correction process begins with telling someone that their beliefs or behaviour is wrong and explaining why, moves on to refute counter-arguments, and ends with rebuking or punishing those who stubbornly persist in error. The three stages in the process were: (a) expose error; (b) refute arguments; and (c) punish dissidents. This word is also used in 1:13 and 2:15.

³⁸ Background. Paul is referring to a group of false teachers, members of the Cretan churches, who were refusing to submit to the content of the gospel message. Instead, they were spreading their own ideas.

³⁹ Translation. Or, *namely*.

⁴⁰ Background. The circumcision party were a group of Jewish converts that were causing trouble in Crete. In earlier NT writings the phrase referred to Jewish believers who argued rigorously that, in addition to their faith in Christ, Gentile Christians needed to be circumcised and keep the Law of Moses (cf. Acts 10:45, 11:2; Gal 2:12; Col 4:11). However, there is no evidence that the group in Crete were promoting circumcision as a requirement for salvation. Perhaps by this time the phrase had become a standard Christian way of referring to Jewish Christians.

⁴¹ Translation and background. Literally, *overturning, destroying*. The false teachers were destroying the faith of families or house-churches by turning them away from the truth.

households⁴² by teaching things they should not teach for the sake of shameful gain. **12** One of them, one of their very own prophets, has said,⁴³

Cretans are always liars,
wild beasts, lazy gluttons.

13 This testimony is true. For this reason, correct⁴⁴ them sternly so that they will be sound⁴⁵ in the faith, **14** not adhering to Jewish myths⁴⁶ and the commandments of men⁴⁷ who reject⁴⁸ the truth. **15** To those who are pure, all things are pure,⁴⁹ but to those who are defiled and do not believe, nothing is pure.⁵⁰ In fact,⁵¹ both their minds⁵² and consciences are defiled. **16** They claim to know God, but by their works they deny him; they are detestable, disobedient, and

⁴² Background. The early church used to meet in the homes of some of its wealthier members, those with enough space. Since the houses were too small to accommodate large numbers of people, the church in any given place usually consisted of a network of house-churches scattered throughout the city. The phrase *whole households* (Gk, *holous oikous*) may refer to such house-churches. However, it could just as easily refer to entire families.

⁴³ Background. The quote that follows is attributed to Epimenides, a famous Cretan philosopher, poet, and prophet who lived around 600 B.C.E. This well known quote is cited by a number of ancient writers. According to tradition, it originated in reaction to a false Cretan claim to have the tomb of Zeus (a Greek god) on Crete. This claim was a blatant lie because Zeus, being a god, was not dead.

⁴⁴ Translation and background. Or, *rebuke them sharply*. See note in 1:9. The situation in Crete was in the latter stages of the correction process. Paul and Titus had already explained to the false teachers that they were in error and refuted their arguments, yet they had stubbornly refused to listen to these warnings. The time for discussion was over; the time for discipline had arrived. The meaning here lies closer to *rebuke* than to *expose* or *refute*.

⁴⁵ Translation. See note in 1:9.

⁴⁶ Background. The *Jewish myths* may have been legendary tales derived by combining fanciful interpretations of the OT with mystical Gnostic ideas (cf. Tit 3:9, 1 Tim 1:4, 4:7).

⁴⁷ Background. *The commandments of men* is a phrase from Isaiah 29:13, a passage used by both Jesus (Matt 15:8-9; Mark 7:6-7) and Paul (Col 2:22) in connection with matters of ceremonial purity, especially those related to food laws. Here too it concerns ascetic laws, probably prohibitions about food, marriage, and other ritual observances (cf. 1 Tim 4:1-5).

⁴⁸ Translation and background. Or, *are rejecting*. The present tense participle used in the Greek text may imply that the false teachers are in the process of rejecting the truth, but that their rejection of it is not yet complete.

⁴⁹ Background. The expression *to those who are pure, all things are pure* was an ancient proverb. The second part, *all things are pure*, refers to ceremonial purity, especially to the fact that all foods were ceremonially clean. The false teachers may have been teaching that eating certain unclean foods defiles one spiritually.

⁵⁰ Background. *To those who are pure, all things are pure, but to those who are defiled ... nothing is pure* was probably an ancient proverb written in the form of antithetical parallelism (a form of poetry in which the second line is opposite to the first). Paul inserted *unbelievers* into the second line to underline that faith is what distinguishes the pure from the defiled.

⁵¹ Translation. Literally, *but*. The literal rendering would be misleading because this sentence does not contrast with the previous one, but elaborates on it.

⁵² Translation. The word translated *minds* (Gk, *nous*) refers to the faculty for making moral decisions.

unfit⁵³ for any good work.

2:1 But as for you,⁵⁴ teach⁵⁵ what is consistent with sound⁵⁶ doctrine.⁵⁷ **2** Teach older⁵⁸ men to be sober,⁵⁹ dignified, and self-controlled;⁶⁰ to be sound⁶¹ in faith, in love, and in perseverance.⁶² **3** Teach older⁶³ women to be reverend⁶⁴ in their behaviour, neither slanderous nor addicted to much wine,⁶⁵ and to be teachers of good⁶⁶ **4** so that they can train⁶⁷ the younger⁶⁸ women⁶⁹ to love their husbands and children, **5** to be self-

⁵³ Translation. The word translated *unfit* (Gk, *adokimos*) implies that they were not capable of doing good works.

⁵⁴ Translation. Literally, *but you*.

⁵⁵ Translation. The word translated *teach* (Gk, *laleō*) normally means *speak*, but here refers to teaching, whether formal or informal.

⁵⁶ Translation. See note in 1:9.

⁵⁷ Background. The instructions that follow represent a common form of moral instruction known as *household codes*. Household codes listed proper behaviour within various household roles that individuals filled. Secular household codes typically included responsibilities towards the gods, the state, friends and family. Christian household codes often discussed relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and slaves (cf. Eph 5:21-6:9; Col 3:18-4:1; 1 Pet 2:13-3:12). The present code addresses the Christian community by age and gender groups, and includes special instructions concerning slaves (2:9-10), the state (3:1), and outsiders (3:2). The instructions in this code are more typical of Hellenistic moral instructions than classical Christian ones. The Romans viewed Christians with a great deal of scepticism, believing they were a danger to the state and a threat to traditional family and religious values. Conforming to Hellenistic values as much as possible was important for protecting the church's witness and preventing persecution.

⁵⁸ Background. The author divides the church into older and younger age groups. Older men or women would be those who had already raised a family, middle aged or slightly older, but not necessarily advanced in years; most would be in their forties or fifties.

⁵⁹ Translation. Or, *temperate*; or, *clear-headed*. The word translated *sober* (Gk, *nēphalios*) may refer to freedom from the use (*sober*) or effects (*clear-headed*) of alcohol, or to control of one's physical appetites in general (*temperate*).

⁶⁰ Translation. See note in 1:8.

⁶¹ Translation. See note in 1:9.

⁶² Background. Faith, hope, and love were often grouped together in Christian writings (1 Cor 13:13, 1 Thes 1:3, 5:8). Here perseverance replaces hope, probably because with the threat of false teaching present, the positive example of the older men, who were role models in the community, would go a long way toward countering the false teaching. In the nearby church in Ephesus, a similar false teaching had found an audience among the women (2 Tim 3:6-9).

⁶³ Background. Concerning their age, see note in 2:2.

⁶⁴ Translation. The word translated *reverend* (Gk, *hieroprepeis*) refers to what is fitting for a holy person, that is, a person who professes complete devotion to God.

⁶⁵ Background. Gossiping and drinking were the two vices most commonly associated with older women.

⁶⁶ Background. Women did not engage in formal teaching; they did not give classes to teach younger women how to live. Their teaching took the form of informal instruction and daily modelling.

⁶⁷ Translation and background. The word translated *train* (Gk, *sōphronizō*) refers to training someone to behave in a sensible and self-controlled manner. The training could take the form of showing, advising, encouraging, or warning. It was an established tradition that older women instructed younger women (usually mothers their daughters) in the ways of life—household and family duties. Men did not train women because of the nature of the skills needed and the need to maintain sexual purity.

controlled⁷⁰ and pure, to be homemakers⁷¹ and good mistresses,⁷² and to submit to their husbands, so that God's message⁷³ will not be discredited.⁷⁴ **6** Exhort the younger⁷⁵ men to be self-controlled⁷⁶ in all respects.⁷⁷ **7** Present yourself as an example of good works. In your teaching⁷⁸ show integrity,⁷⁹ dignity, **8** and soundness of message⁸⁰ that cannot be condemned, so that anyone who opposes you will be put to shame because he has nothing *bad* to say about us. **9** Exhort slaves⁸¹ to submit to their owners in all things⁸²—to try to please them and not to

⁶⁸ Translation. The phrase translated *younger women* (Gk, *tas neas*) could be translated *new wives* since all the instructions that follow relate to their responsibilities in the home. Since society frowned on singleness, men outnumbered women, and women were married young, almost all young women were married.

⁶⁹ Background. In Hellenistic culture a woman's place was in the home. Her responsibilities revolved around home life, taking care of her husband, children, and household affairs. She seldom left the home and had no social duties outside the home sphere.

⁷⁰ Translation and background. See note in 1:8. When used of women, *sōphrōn* refers primarily to modesty and moderation in sexual matters, especially the way they dress (cf. 1 Tim 2:9-10).

⁷¹ Translation. Or, *good homemakers*. The word translated *homemakers* (Gk, *oikougos*) means *workers at home*. However, whether *homemakers* (Gk, *oikourgos*) and *good* (Gk, *agathos*) represent two instructions as in the text or whether they should be combined to form one instruction is unclear.

⁷² Translation. Literally, just *good* or *good women* (Gk, *agathos*); *mistress* is inserted into the translation because of the close association between this requirement (being good women) and the preceding one (being homemakers). Together these two requirements describe women's responsibilities within the home, both to work themselves and to manage their domestic help.

⁷³ Translation. Literally, *the word of God*. The phrase translated *God's message* refers to the gospel message rather than to the whole written word of God.

⁷⁴ Translation and background. The word translated *discredited* (Gk, *blasphēmēō*) refers to speaking evil of something or someone; it is translated *slander* in 3:2. Apparently, the false teachers were promoting liberation for women. Since all people are equal in Christ (cf. Gal 3:28, *neither male nor female*), women should no longer conform to social traditions that make them subject to male rule, even that of their husbands. The author's concern was for the reputation of the gospel. If Christian women rebelled against traditional social values, outsiders, who were already sceptical about Christianity, would have grounds for their scepticism.

⁷⁵ Background. The younger men would have been young married men (or at least those of marrying age), probably in their twenties or thirties.

⁷⁶ Translation. See note in 1:8. The word translated *self-controlled* (Gk, *sōphroneō*) is the verb form of the noun used in 1:8.

⁷⁷ Translation. Or, *Exhort the younger men to be self controlled. In all respects present yourself....* In the Greek text the phrase translated *in all respects* can go with the end of 2:6 or the beginning of 2:7.

⁷⁸ Translation. Or, *Show integrity in your teaching, dignity, and soundness of speech.*

⁷⁹ Translation. A few manuscripts replace *integrity* (Gk, *aphthoria*: *free from corruption*) with *generosity* (Gk, *aphthonia*: *free from envy/greed*). Many manuscripts substitute the synonym *uprightness* (Gk, *adiaphthoria*) for *integrity*. The variants result from the fact that *aphthoria* was an obscure word; scribes simplified the text by substituting a more familiar word.

⁸⁰ Translation. Or, *speech*.

⁸¹ Background. Legally, slaves were property with no rights. Their owner held complete authority over them, even the power of life and death, though he usually allowed them religious freedom. In practice, most household slaves were well-treated and better provided for than free peasants (Roman society had no middle class). Slavery was not based on race or class distinctions; in fact, many slaves were highly educated and held responsible positions in society (e.g. doctors, accountants, carpenters). Slaves had a good chance of being set free, which served as an incentive for faithful service.

talk back,⁸³ **10** not to steal but to prove themselves completely trustworthy⁸⁴—so that they may adorn the teaching about God our Saviour⁸⁵ in all things.⁸⁶

11 For the grace of God has appeared,⁸⁷ bringing salvation⁸⁸ to all men, **12** training⁸⁹ us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts and to live self-controlled,⁹⁰ upright, and godly⁹¹ lives in the present age **13** as⁹² we anticipate the blessed hope—the⁹³ appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.⁹⁴ **14** He gave himself for us to redeem⁹⁵ us from every lawless deed and to purify for himself a people of his own,⁹⁶ eager to do good works.⁹⁷

⁸² Translation. Or, *exhort slaves to submit to their owners—to try to please them in all things*. The phrase translated *in all things* could be linked with either *submit* or *please*.

⁸³ Background. Slaves were known to express defiance by sarcastic muttering, direct challenges, or simply disobeying their masters. The word translated *talk back* (Gk, *antilegō*) refers to all forms of defiance; it includes arguing, opposing, refusing, and back-chatting.

⁸⁴ Background. Slaves were also renowned for stealing from their masters. Many slaves worked as professionals in capacities in which they received money for their services, money which ultimately belonged to their owner. Other slaves handled their owner's financial affairs (see note in 1:7). These slaves could embezzle their owner's money for their own use. Those without access to money were known to steal goods.

⁸⁵ Translation. Literally, *our Saviour, God*. The word order of the Greek text emphasises the word *Saviour*.

⁸⁶ Background. Only slaves, not their owners, are addressed in this household code. Slaves were often attracted to minority religions. Minority religions had a reputation for inciting slaves to rebel against their humble position. The author did not want Christianity to develop such a reputation; Christian slaves needed to bring credit to the gospel by their good example. Furthermore, the false teachers may have been promoting liberation for slaves (as for women, see note in 2:5), arguing that since all men are equal in Christ (cf. Gal 3:28, *neither slave nor free*), slaves should challenge the system that made them subject to other men.

⁸⁷ Translation and background. The word translated *appeared* (Gk, *epiphainō*) suggests the sudden appearance of a god to bring help; here it refers to the first coming of Christ.

⁸⁸ Translation. Some manuscripts read *the grace of God which brings salvation has appeared* instead of *the grace of God has appeared bringing salvation*. Although the difference looks large in translation, in the Greek text it is produced by the addition of a single word—the article *hē*. However, the witnesses to the variant reading are all quite late (ca. 9th century C.E.); they are best explained as a scribal attempt to simplify the grammar of the text. A few other manuscripts read *the grace of God our Saviour*, but this is simply a harmonisation with 2:10.

⁸⁹ Translation. Or, *teaching, disciplining*. The word translated *training* (Gk, *paideuō*) was used to describe educating children concerning how they should live. It could refer to either instruction or correction.

⁹⁰ See note in 1:8.

⁹¹ See note about godliness in 1:3.

⁹² Translation. Or, *while we wait for the blessed hope*; or, *because we are anticipating the blessed hope*.

⁹³ Translation. Literally, *the blessed hope and appearing....*

⁹⁴ Translation. The expression translated *the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ* has been the subject of much debate. Although this is probably the most accurate translation, two other translations are also possible: (a) *the appearing of the glory of the great God and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ* or (b) *the appearing of Jesus Christ, who is the glory of our great God and Saviour*.

⁹⁵ Background. The word translated *redeem* (Gk, *lutroō*) referred to redeeming slaves from bondage by paying a ransom.

⁹⁶ Translation. See Exodus 19:5 and Ezekiel 37:23.

⁹⁷ Translation. Literally, *zealous for good works*.

15 Teach *these things*;⁹⁸ exhort and correct *with complete authority*.⁹⁹ Do not allow anyone to disregard you.¹⁰⁰

3:1 Remind them, with reference to rulers and authorities,¹⁰¹ to be submissive and obedient,¹⁰² and to be prepared for every good work. **2** Remind¹⁰³ them to slander no one, to be yielding rather than argumentative, and to show complete courtesy¹⁰⁴ to all men.

3 For *we* too were once foolish and disobedient, deceived and enslaved by all kinds of lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, being hated¹⁰⁵ and hating one another. **4** But when the kindness and the love for mankind of God our Saviour¹⁰⁶ appeared,¹⁰⁷ **5** he saved us, *not* because of righteous works which we ourselves had done *but* because¹⁰⁸ of his own mercy, through the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. **6** He poured out the Holy Spirit¹⁰⁹ upon us in abundance through Jesus Christ our Saviour **7** so that, having been justified¹¹⁰ by his grace, we might become heirs with the hope of eternal life.

⁹⁸ Translation. In the Greek text, the expressions translated *these things* and *with complete authority* are both related to all three verbs—teach, exhort, and correct. English grammar does not allow the translation to make these connections clear.

⁹⁹ Background. Titus had the authority to do this because he was Paul's apostolic delegate. It was customary to treat delegates according to the status of the one who sent them. A delegate had the authority to speak and act on behalf of the one who sent him; to disregard him was to disregard his sender.

¹⁰⁰ Translation. Or, *no one must disregard you*.

¹⁰¹ Background. *Rulers and authorities* were government authorities.

¹⁰² Translation. Or, *remind them to submit to rulers and authorities, to obey....*

¹⁰³ Translation. Literally, *to slander no one....*, as a continuation of the previous sentence. The words *remind them* are not repeated in the Greek text, but are repeated to make the translation as clear and natural as possible.

¹⁰⁴ Translation. The word translated *courtesy* (Gk, *prautēs*) encompasses a wide range of nuances, including mildness, gentleness, calmness, humility, firmness, and strength. It portrays a considerate manner of treating people, as is expected of friends.

¹⁰⁵ Translation. Or, *hateful*. The word translated *hated* (Gk, *stugētos*) refers to being an object of hatred on account of one's own detestable character or actions.

¹⁰⁶ Translation. Literally, *our Saviour, God*. The word order of the Greek text emphasises the word *Saviour*.

¹⁰⁷ Translation. The word translated *appeared* (Gk, *epiphainō*) suggests the sudden appearance of a god to bring help; here it refers to the first coming of Christ (cf. 2:11, 13).

¹⁰⁸ Translation. Literally, *in accordance with*.

¹⁰⁹ Literally, *whom he poured out*. The whole of 3:4-7 is one sentence in the Greek text. Because the translation begins a new sentence in 3:6, it must repeat the words *the Holy Spirit* in place of *whom*.

¹¹⁰ Translation and background. The word translated *justified* (Gk, *dikaioō*) was a legal term with two important nuances. Firstly, it referred to acquittal in a court of law, that is, declaring someone not guilty. Secondly, it referred to restoration of right relationship; the person who was acquitted stood in right relationship to the law.

8 This saying is trustworthy,¹¹¹ and I want you to insist on these things so that those who have come to believe in God¹¹² will be intent on devoting themselves to good works. These things are helpful¹¹³ and profitable for men. 9 But avoid foolish disputes and genealogies¹¹⁴ and quarrels and fights about the law,¹¹⁵ for they are unprofitable and unhelpful. 10 Reject¹¹⁶ a divisive¹¹⁷ man after two¹¹⁸ warnings,¹¹⁹ 11 because you know that such a man has become corrupt¹²⁰ and is sinning; he is self-condemned.¹²¹

12 When I send Artemas or Tychicus¹²² to you, make every effort¹²³ to come to me in Nicopolis,¹²⁴ for I have decided to spend the winter¹²⁵ there. 13 Make every effort¹²⁶ to help¹²⁷

¹¹¹ Background. The saying in question refers to 3:4-7. There are five of these faithful sayings in the Pastoral Epistles (cf. 1 Tim 1:15, 3:1, 4:9; 2 Tim 2:11). They represent well known sayings that the early Christians would accept as true without question.

¹¹² Translation. Or, *those who have put their trust in God*.

¹¹³ Translation. Literally, *good*.

¹¹⁴ Background. These *genealogies* may have been Gnostic myths about the nature of the universe. Alternatively, they may have been fanciful expansions of OT stories or genealogies (cf. Tit 1:14, 1 Tim 1:4, 4:7).

¹¹⁵ Background. Probably Jewish religious law.

¹¹⁶ Translation. Or, *discharge*. The word translated *reject* (Gk, *paraiteomai*) probably means that Titus must put the offender out of the church (cf. Matt 18:15-18).

¹¹⁷ Translation. The word translated *divisive* (Gk, *hairetikos*) refers to holding abnormal, deviant views and promoting them in a way that causes division.

¹¹⁸ Translation. Literally, *after the first and second warning*.

¹¹⁹ Translation and background. The word translated *warnings* (Gk, *nouthesia*) can refer to instructing someone concerning correct belief and behaviour or to warning him/her of the consequences of wrong belief or behaviour. The first warning would have focused on instruction, the second warning on the consequences.

¹²⁰ Translation. The word translated *has become corrupt* (Gk, *ekstrephō*) is in the perfect tense, implying that the person has moved from correct belief to corrupt belief (cf. Tit 1:14).

¹²¹ Translation. The word translated *self-condemned* (Gk, *autokatakritos*) implies that his own actions bring judgement on him.

¹²² Background. Paul was probably sending either Artemas or Tychicus to Crete to take over from Titus.

¹²³ Translation. Or, *make haste*. The word translated *make every effort* (Gk, *spoudazō*) can refer either to doing something diligently (*do your best, make every effort*) or to doing something quickly (*make haste*).

¹²⁴ Background. Nicopolis, which means *city of victory*, was a common name for cities named after great military victories. The Nicopolis referred to here was the largest city on the west coast of Achaia (modern-day Greece). Paul probably chose it because it was a good centre for missionary work and a convenient springboard for a journey to Rome.

¹²⁵ Background. Due to harsh weather conditions, travelling was impossible during the winter months. As winter approached, travellers needed to find a safe place to spend the dangerous period.

¹²⁶ Translation and background. Or, *Send Zenas and Apollos on their way hastily*. The word translated *make every effort* (Gk, *spoudaiōs*) can refer either to doing something diligently (*do your best, make every effort*) or to doing something quickly (*make haste*); its related verb is used in 3:12. If Zenas and Apollos urgently needed to reach their destination before winter set in, the meaning would be *hastily*. However, if they were not on a tight time schedule, the meaning would be *do everything you can to help them*.

¹²⁷ Translation and background. The word translated *help ... on their journey* (Gk, *propempō*) referred to sending someone on his way with provision for the journey. Travelling was both dangerous and expensive. Christians had a moral obligation to ensure that their missionaries had ample food, clothing, money, equipment,

Zenas (the lawyer)¹²⁸ and Apollos¹²⁹ on their journey, so that they may lack nothing.¹³⁰ **14**

Our people must learn to devote themselves to good works that meet pressing¹³¹ needs so that they will not be unfruitful.¹³²

15 All who are with me send you greetings. Greet those who love us in the faith. Grace be with you all.¹³³

and anything else they needed for the journey. Providing travellers with provisions for their journey was an extension of the social practice of showing hospitality (see note in 1:8).

¹²⁸ Translation and background. The word translated *lawyer* (Gk, *nomikos*) could mean that Zenas was an expert in Jewish law, but it more likely indicates that he was an expert in Roman law, probably a jurist.

¹²⁹ Background. Apollos was a travelling preacher (cf. Acts 18:24-28; 1 Cor 1:12; 1 Cor 3). It seems as if Zenas and Apollos were on a ministerial trip.

¹³⁰ Background. This verse takes the form of a miniature letter of recommendation (cf. 2 Cor 3:1-3). Such letters were written by trustworthy people and given to travellers to ensure that they were well received. This helped to protect both the travellers and those receiving them. The travellers could expect hospitality, while those receiving them could be confident that they were not being taken advantage of by someone of dubious character.

¹³¹ Translation. The word translated *pressing* (Gk, *anankaaios*) refers to urgent, essential things such as food and clothing.

¹³² Background. The reference to being *unfruitful* draws on familiar agricultural imagery of productive and unproductive fruit trees. The purpose of fruit trees was to produce fruit that met people's needs. Trees that did not produce fruit were worthless (cf. John 15:1-8).

¹³³ Background. Ancient letters often concluded with some greetings and a closing prayer for the well-being of the recipient(s).

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